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ENCYCLOPEDIA OF INDO-ARYAN RESEARCH

FOUNDED BY G. BÜHLER, CONTINUED BY F. KIELHORN,

EDITED BY H. LÜDERS AND J. WACKERNAGEL.

VOL. II, PART 5.

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# ETHNOGRAPHY

(CASTES AND TRIBES)

BY

SIR ATHELSTANE BAINES

WITH A LIST OF THE MORE IMPORTANT WORKS ON INDIAN ETHNOGRAPHY

BY W. SIEGLING.

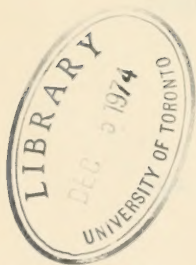
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### INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. The subject with which it is proposed to deal in the present work is that branch of Indian ethnography which is concerned with the social organisation of the population, or the dispersal of the latter into definite groups based upon considerations of race, tribe, blood or occupation. In the main, it takes the form of a descriptive survey of the return of castes and tribes obtained through the Census of 1901. The scope of the review, however, is limited to the population of India properly so called, and does not, therefore, include Burma or the outlying tracts of Balūchistān, Aden and the Andamans, by the omission of which the population dealt with is reduced from 294 to 283 millions.

§ 2. It should be borne in mind from the outset, that but for the fact that this vast aggregate is spread over a continuous area between Cape Comorin and the Himālaya, and is politically under one rule, the population does not contain, as a whole, any of the essential elements of Nationality. Irrespective of racial differences, which, for reasons which will appear below, are to a great extent outside the Census inquiry, the Language, falling under no less than 147 heads, varies from Province to Province, each of the principal tongues having its dialects whose Shibboleth infallibly denotes the stranger a hundred miles or so from his native village. Society, again, is split up into almost innumerable self-contained divisions, under sacerdotal prohibition from intermarriage and domestic intercourse with each other. Religion, moreover, constitutes a well-defined distinction only in the case of creeds introduced from abroad, and the Faith returned under a single title, itself of foreign origin, by nearly three fourths of the population covers a vast and incoherent collection of beliefs and forms of worship, from the tribal animism of the primitive denizens of the forest to those involving the most refined metaphysical conceptions. Neither religion nor language, then will be here discussed more than cursorily, and solely in their bearings upon the ethnography of the country. Full information upon the philology and the main currents of religious belief of India will be found in special treatises upon those subjects in other volumes of this Encyclopaedia. Moreover, neither creed nor mother-tongue affords an adequate, or even an approximate indication of the great fundamental variety of race, a subject which also escapes the Census inquiry since

the latter takes cognisance, perforce, of existing facts only, whilst race has been for centuries obscured by the operation of the two most prevalent forms of religious profession. The plastic and assimilative nature of Brahmanism absorbs, whilst the uncompromising tendencies of Islam obliterate, distinctions of race equally with those of doctrine and ceremonial, and both have their effect in diminishing the popularity of the more restricted vernaculars. The veil of superficial uniformity which has thus been drawn over the actual elements from which Indian society has been formed can only be removed, and then but partially and on conjecture perhaps, by recourse to such ethnological evidence as may be gleaned from tradition and literature, with the aid, in certain directions, of anthropometrical investigation, so far as it has yet been carried. Purity of descent is no more a general characteristic of the population of India than it is of any other old civilisation in the Eastern Hemisphere in which geographical conformation admits of access from the North. In the Upper, or Continental, portion of India that purity is probably found in the upper classes of the Panjab and Rājputāna. It exists, too, at the opposite end of the social ladder, amongst the Hill tribes of the Belt dividing the above portion of India from the Peninsula. South of that barrier, again, the population, except along parts of the West Coast, is comparatively homogeneous, and the main variations noticeable in it are not more marked than those which may reasonably be attributed to secular differences in habits and pursuits. The principal physical features of the country have to be taken into account in connection with its ethnography, as they have played a highly important part in determining the racial distribution of the population. To put it briefly, India can only be entered from the north by any considerable body of men by passes through the outlying ranges running southwards from the Himalaya in the western extension of that great system. In early times, no doubt, access was comparatively easy by routes debouching on the middle and lower Indus, over country which is now sandy desert, but which was once the abode of a considerable population. Similarly, on the eastern flank of the Himalaya, the trend of the lower ranges renders it possible for those accustomed to forest and mountain life to enter, though not in large bodies, the valley of the Brahmaputra or the eastern Gangetic Delta. Between the mountains and the next obstacle, the ranges of Central India, lie the vast alluvial plain of the Ganges and its tributaries and the open plains of the Five Rivers. The Central Belt, of considerable width in both hill and forest, though of insignificant height in comparison with the Himalaya, is yet sufficiently difficult to have proved an effective obstacle in the infancy of means of communication and of protective government. It also affords shelter to a considerable population of the wilder tribes, of old the guardians of the routes through their territory. As in the case of the Himalaya, however, the flank can be turned on both east and west, as the hills do not reach either coast, and the narrow strips intervening between the ranges and the sea consist of fertile and low-lying country, presenting little or no difficulty of passage on the East, at all events, to the great southern plains and the Dekkan plateau. These prominent natural features have now to be coordinated with the ethnology of India, so far as our knowledge of the latter extends.

§ 3. The basic population of practically the whole country consists of a dark, short and broad-nosed race, with wavy, but not woolly, hair.

In the present day it is represented by the wild tribes of the Central Belt, and in a higher state of culture by the population of the southern portions of the Peninsula. On philological grounds, the people south of the Belt are distinguished from those further north. The former, known as Dravidian, seem always to have kept to their present localities, except in a few cases where tribes have migrated into the Belt within historic times. The other race, to which the title of Kōl or Muṇḍā, is generally attached, is not known south of the forest Belt, in which it is at the present time concentrated under its distinctive tribal appellations. Formerly, however, it was spread over the whole of the great plains of Upper India, and, according to recent philological discoveries, it is akin, at least in language, to communities now settled on the borders of Assam, and far to the east of the Bay of Bengal. Some investigators, indeed, spread its former habitat over a still wider area. In the east and north-east of India, however, its identity has been obscured, if not obliterated, by the successive immigrations of people of Mongoloidic race from eastern Tibet and the head waters of the great Chinese rivers, whose main streams of migration have sought the sea by the valleys of the Irāwadi, Salwin and Mekhong. In the Gangetic plain the type is traceable throughout the population, slightly, indeed, along the Jamnā, but more distinctly as the east is approached, and almost everywhere more prevalent as the social position is lower. This graduation is due to miscegenation between the Kōl, who, as far as ethnography is concerned, may be considered the autochthonous inhabitant of these tracts, and a taller and fairer race, which entered India by the passes of the North-west or the plains of Balūchistān. More than one such race are known to history, but in most cases their impact upon India was sharp but short; not, at any rate, of a character to leave a permanent impression upon the population. Such, for instance, was the connection of the Macedonians with the Panjāb. More durable though still in few cases amounting to settlement or colonisation, were the principalities set up from time to time in the North-west by scions of the race or races termed Scythian, of whom more will be said below. The only immigrating race of practical importance in connection with the present subject, is that of the Āryas, whose advent and progress are indirectly, and to a great extent conjecturally, revealed in the collection of their invocations handed down from perhaps as early as 3000 B C, in the R̥gveda and the sacerdotal literature appended to it at later dates.

§ 4. From these sources it appears that a number of cognate tribes of northern race and pastoral habits advanced across and along the Indus into the Panjāb, where they settled after dispossessing the dark tribes in occupation, relegating them to the position of helots in the service of the new communities. The Vedic Āryas seem to have lost touch in time with their original country across the snows, and to have developed their civilisation on lines peculiarly their own. Their progress eastwards from the Indus was that of expansion rather than of conquest, as the Kōl tribes seem after a time to have offered no serious resistance. The comparatively easy conditions of life in sub-tropical circumstances, and the immunity from attack in force from the west, which was secured by their mountain rampart, combined to soften the northern fibre of the race, and, in course of time, the supreme influence over the community was transferred from the chieftain to the priests, under whose auspices society was organised in a way that secured the absolute supremacy of their own order. The

system thus established was so elastic in the matter of doctrine and worship, so simple in its demands upon traditional rites and customs, that without propaganda or formal conversion, it absorbed and continues to absorb into the pale of orthodoxy the religious and domestic observances of all the non-Aryan tribes with which it came into contact. As a necessary result, ethnical distinctions are thus obliterated by religious terminology, and, along with the tribal nomenclature, tribal languages have long tended to disappear from usage. This has been the case throughout the Gangetic valley, in Central India, and along the northern districts of the Western coast, in none of which tracts is creed or language an indication of racial origin. In the first named region, too, the physical characteristics of the masses denote clearly the admixture of Kōl with Āryan blood, a blend which, as above stated, grows more perceptible as the distance from the centres of Āryan settlement increases. The striking differences in this respect between the population of the Panjāb and northern Rājputāna and that east of the Jamna appears to be due both to the stricter maintenance of the purity of the original northern stock, and also to the recruitment of that stock through the subsequent occupation of the first-mentioned tracts by communities from beyond the Himālaya. The most important of the latter are the various tribes known in ancient Indian literature by the probably generic title of S'aka, or Scythians, the greater portion of whom made their way south by way of Bactria. In more than one instance the dynasty establishing itself in India lasted so long and penetrated so far into the interior, that it is almost certain to have left a physical, as well as a political, impress upon the population. The case of the Yetha Hūnas, or White Huns, is one in point. After the usual vicissitudes north of the great ranges, they ruled in Central India for a considerable period, and, long before their overthrow, they seem to have been absorbed into the local chieftainry of Rājputāna and Mālvā. For several generations, too, a Pahlava, or Parthian, dynasty held sway on the lower Indus. The origin of most of these peoples was probably in the Mongoloid regions of north-east Asia, but recent investigators appear to consider that it is not improbable that at least one, and that an important dynasty in Northern India, was of Āryan race, driven southwards by the pressure on west-central Asia from the north-east. Whatever the actual race, the point relevant to the present question is that they were all northerners, and thus alien in blood and physique to the pre-Āryan inhabitants of India.

§ 5. The connection of the Aryas with Dravidian India seems to have been of a different character from that established in the Gangetic region and the Panjāb. There does not appear to have been any colonisation, and little, if any, cross-breeding. It may be fairly conjectured that the open and fertile plains of the south-east afforded opportunities for civilisation upon local lines to an extent which, by the time the Aryas had spread to the means of access from the north, had placed the Dravidian communities in a much stronger position than the Kōl tribes of the Continental plains. From the Aryan additions to the vocabulary of the vernacular tongues and the special features of the Brāhmanism and the social system of the South it may be inferred that the influence of Aryan civilisation was there of a missionary, not political or military, character. The cloak of Brāhmanic orthodoxy was thrown over the local deities and ceremonial, and social divisions adopted the Brāhmanic organisation: but,



beyond the introduction of a certain contingent of Brāhmins as teachers and advisers, no Āryan blood was infused into the population. Along the western coast, however, which is cut off from the Tamil country and the Dekkan by the Sahyādrī range, tradition assigns a northern origin to several of the more important communities, and is confirmed by physical appearance and certain special customs.

§ 6. It remains to mention the more modern accretions to the peoples of India received from foreign countries, but now permanently established in the land of their adoption.

Of movements of this description which have had a racial significance, that which took place under the auspices of the followers of Muhammad first claims attention. It must be noted, however, that, on the whole, the extent to which it introduced fresh blood into the country is of far less importance than its religious and political influence. India contains, it is true, more Muslim than any other country in the world, and votaries of their faith are found in every part of it; but, except in the territories bordering upon the exclusively Muslim States of Afghānistān and Balūchistān, the community consists almost entirely of local converts from Brāhmanism, without any admixture of foreign blood. In Upper India, colonies of considerable importance were left by successive waves of invasion, especially in and round the cities founded or occupied by the conquering races. In the case of the Moghal dynasties, military and administrative centres were established far down the Ganges and on the western coast. The Arabs, too, have been in commercial intercourse with that coast from time immemorial, and have planted permanent settlements as far south as Malabar. The largest aggregates, however, of foreign Muslim are those recruited from the Indus frontier, and settled not far from that river. The conversion of Sindh and Kashmir has long been almost complete, and that of the eastern tracts of the great Delta of the Ganges and Brahmaputra is in active progress, and already extends to more than half the population. With this exception, the proportion of Muslim diminishes, like that of the Āryan stock, southwards and eastwards from the Panjāb, and is very small amongst the Dravidians, and scarcely existent in the Central Belt of hills and forests. From the standpoint of ethnography it is not to be assumed that the results of conversion to Islām extend no further than the substitution of one dogma or ritual for another, as is the case, to a great extent, when a lower race is absorbed into Brāhmanism. The acceptance of the monotheistic creed entails, as a rule, material expansion of the matrimonial field and of the social horizon generally, with a wider range of diet also, all of which tend to differentiate, after a generation or two, the converted community from that to which it originally belonged, the modification extending to physical as well as to other attributes.

§ 7. Another community which, as regards the majority of its members, is the result of apostolic zeal rather than of immigration, is that of the Christians in India, of whom more than 91 per cent are native to the country and another 3 per cent of mixed European and native origin. The remainder are practically sojourners only, and comprise the European military and civil establishments, the mercantile communities of the larger cities, and the considerable staff of the railway systems. The conversion of certain localities, chiefly on the Malabar coast, is alleged to date from the first century of the Christian era; but until the arrival of the Portu-

guesse, the propaganda was not extended far beyond the original settlements of the Nestorian Church. The Roman Catholic missionaries, under the political aegis of Goa, ranged over a large portion of Southern India, and, to this day, three fourths of the Christian population of India belongs to the Dravidian tracts, and more than half to the Church of Rome. The differentiation of the convert to this religion from his Brāhmanic fellows varies, usually according to the numbers and homogeneity of the local congregation. The breach with old custom is more marked where conversion is comparatively sporadic, and slighter in the case where Christianity has been hereditary for generations, or, if of comparatively recent acceptance, has been embraced by considerable numbers of more or less the same social position. This position, owing mainly to the restrictions of the caste system, is generally low, as the change is there not only less of a sacrifice to people who have no hope of rising, but may even bring with it some chances of ameliorating their lot.

§ 8. At the very opposite pole to the Muslim and Christians in regard to recruitment by propaganda of their religion, stand the small but well defined body of Parsis. The original settlers of this race were driven out of Īrān by the Muslim in the 7th century, and the bulk of their descendants are still to be found in and round the tract upon which they first landed, on the coast north of Bombay. The opening of the latter by the British as the commercial emporium of western India, induced many families of Parsis to migrate thither, and from this centre they have spread all over the country to such an extent that, though their aggregate numbers is only just over 93000, there is scarcely a large town in India in which a few families of Parsi traders are not resident. From their arrival in the country the Parsis made a point of keeping their race and ritual unsullied by intercourse with their neighbours, and to this particularism is due to some extent, their very slow rate of increase. It is remarkable, however, that with this strict maintenance of their customs and ritual, and their abstinence from intermarriage with Indians, the Parsis have long lost all hold of their original language, Pahlavī, except in their liturgy, and universally make use of Gujarātī as their mother-tongue.

§ 9. In addition to the Christians, Parsis and Arabs, the west coast of India has also afforded refuge to successive small bodies of Israelites, of which the more ancient, at all events, hold the tradition that like the Parsis, they were driven by persecution from their fatherland. Like the sons of Īrān, again, they have kept up their religion and customs and lost their mother-tongue. The earliest colony is that of Cochin, on the Malabar coast, which dates from the Christian era, if not from an earlier period. It consists of two sections, the White, which has kept its breed pure, and gets its brides occasionally from Syria and Baghdād, and the Black, which is suspected of intermarriage with Indians or of the incorporation of local converts in days of yore, and is therefore socially avoided by the others. The total number of both communities does not exceed 1300, and is not increasing. Another Jewish settlement of apparently distinct origin from those further south, is that of the Beni-Israel, on the mainland near Bombay. The members thereof possess the physical characteristics of their race, and keep up their religious observances, though they have adopted the dress and language of their Marāthā neighbours. Unlike their compatriots in general, they are engaged chiefly in cultivation, and have taken to a considerable extent also to military service in the



British Indian army. They have the same tradition as those of Cochin as to their exile from their country under persecution, but seem to have a laxer grip of their past than the latter, and no inclination for alliances with those of their race beyond the seas. In numbers they greatly surpass their fellow exiles. The largest community of Jews in India is the comparatively recent commercial settlement in Bombay and to a less extent in Calcutta, of traders from Baghdād, who, whilst permanently settled in their place of business, keep in close touch with their old home.

§ 10. The above sketch of the ethnological aspect of the subject will serve to indicate this fact of primary relevance, that, north of the Dravidian country, the demarcation of race is only ascertainable in the case of the communities under tribal constitution, such as the Kōl of the Central Belt, the Mongoloid tribes of the North-east, and the Muslim immigrants of the North-west. The undoubted racial difference between the fair people of Rājputāna and the Panjāb and the masses further east is obscured, for the purposes of ethnography, by the superstructure of Brāhmanism under which it now lies buried. This survey would be incomplete, however, without some exposition of the distribution of creed and language, even though it be restricted to mere numbers. First, then, in regard to Mothertongue, it will be seen from Table I given on the next page, that no more than about one person in a thousand returns any language not peculiar to India or its immediate vicinity, and that one, is probably a European sojourner. Nine in a thousand speak a frontier dialect, mainly Pashtū, Balūchi, Tibetan or one of the almost innumerable languages of the hill-tracts between India and Burma. The languages distinguishable as restricted respectively to special tribes are returned by some 6<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> millions; and, on the whole, 96 per cent speak Indo-Āryan languages or Dravidian, other than those of the hill-tribes. Appended to this volume is a Table showing the territorial distribution of each of the principal tongues, from which a conception may be formed of the great linguistic diversity of the country.

§ 11. It will be inferred from what has been stated above, that the diversity of religion is by no means equal to that of language, so far as nomenclature is in question. In Table II on the next page, the numbers of those professing the main forms of belief are given, along with their relative proportion to the total population.

It must be understood that the term „Tribal Animism“ refers to the religion returned under the tribal name by those who adhere to none of the wider creeds. Again, the title „Hindūism“ is only recognised by the community to whom it is applied as denoting a distinction between them and the foreigner. The word was first used by the Muslim invaders for all Indian creeds in which the uncompromising Unitarianism of the follower of the Prophet detected signs of the worship of idols. It is here taken in its conventional sense of „the collection of rites, worships, beliefs, traditions and mythologies that are sanctioned by the sacred books and ordinances of the Brāhmins, and are propagated by Brāhmanic teaching“ (Lyall). In practice, this amounts to the application of the title to any Brāhmanic community that has not returned one of the more specific denominations which can legitimately be included under the general name. Consequently, the great mass of the people come under it. The prevalence of the different professions of faith in the principal territorial divisions of India is shown in a Table appended to this volume.

## I.

Linguistic Class	No. of Languages returned	Population		Population returning Languages native to		
		Total	Per 100,000	Indian Frontiers	India	Foreign Countries
I. Kōl-Khervāri	10	3,179,273	1,124	—	3,179,273	—
II. Dravidian . .	14	56,315,740	19,911	47,943	56,267,797	—
III. Aryo-Dravidian	"	344,143	122	—	344,143	—
IV. Indo-Aryan . .	20	219,352,079	77,556	54,425	219,297,654	—
V. Irānian . . .	6	1,388,223	491	1,369,133	—	19,090
VI. Tibeto-Burman	62	1,804,776	638	960,585	844,191	—
VII. Mōn . . . .	2	177,854	63	27	177,827	—
VIII. Tai . . . .	6	3,366	1	3,366	—	—
IX. Mongolian . .	4	3,566	1	—	—	3,566
X. Malay . . . .	1	26	—	—	—	26
XI. Semitic . . .	3	19,726	7	—	—	19,726
XII. Hamitic . . .	†	185	—	—	—	185
XIII. European . .	23	243,109	86	—	—	243,109
Total returned	151	282,832,066	100,000	2,435,479	280,110,885	285,702
Not returned . .	—	158,997	—	—	—	—
Population . .	—	282,991,063	—	—	—	—

\* Gipsy dialects, undistinguishable.

† Returned in generic terms, as Abyssinian, Negro etc.

## II.

Religion	Population	Proportion to 100,000
<b>I. Religions native to India . . .</b>	<b>218,797,808</b>	<b>77,316</b>
A. Tribal Animism . . . . .	8,176,560	2,890
B. Offshoots of Brāhmanism.		
(1) Hindūism . . . . .	206,715,341	73,046
(2) Brāhma and Arya Samāj . .	96,054	34
(3) Sikhism . . . . .	2,185,330	772
(4) Jainism . . . . .	1,333,820	471
(5) Buddhism . . . . .	290,703	103
<b>II. Religions of Foreign Origin . .</b>	<b>64,193,255</b>	<b>22,684</b>
C. Mazdaism . . . . .	93,449	33
D. Judaism . . . . .	14,436	5
E. Islām . . . . .	61,315,475	21,667
F. Christianity . . . . .	2,767,235	978
G. Others . . . . .	2,660	1
<b>Total . .</b>	<b>282,991,063</b>	<b>100,000</b>

§ 12. One of the most interesting ethnographical questions entering into the Census inquiry is that of the rate at which Brāhmanism is in name, at least, absorbing the Animistic tribal population. Unfortunately, this cannot be fully solved from the returns, owing to the different inter-

pretations given to the instructions for recording tribal creeds and languages. The enumerators, or those who instructed them, adopted somewhat arbitrary standards of orthodoxy and philology, and what was set down as tribal in one tract appeared under the more general title in another, just across a political frontier. Speaking generally, the tendency seems to have been to return the tribal terms wherever the community in question is in predominant occupation of a continuous and well-defined region, and is thus in comparative isolation from the civilisation of the plains. Where, on the other hand, the tribe is interlaced with the Brāhmanical peasantry, the distinction was less noticed, and probably the line is in reality less discernible. It may be interesting, in spite of the above drawbacks, to learn what the conditions are as set forth at the Census, so a further Table, in which the proportion in which each tribe returned the tribal religion and language is given in the Appendix.

## SOCIAL ORGANISATION.

### A. Historical.

§ 13. **Tribe.** — In the outline given in the Introduction it was shown that throughout the greater part of continental India, the region most influenced by foreign blood, distinctions of race have been practically effaced by centuries of cross-breeding. It is to be noted, however, that wherever a race can still be geographically demarcated from its hybrid neighbours the ethnic constitution tends to be tribal, consisting, that is, of groups with a common name, the tradition of kinship or descent from a common ancestor, human, demi-god or wild animal, as the case may be, and claiming or occupying a definite territory. The system on which the tribe is organised varies considerably according to the race and the conditions under which it lives. That most intimately connected with India proper is found amongst the Kōl-Dravidians of the Central Belt. Here, the tribe is subdivided into numerous exogamous sections, each bearing the name of a plant or animal of the locality, and marrying almost invariably within the tribe itself, or, at most, not beyond an adjacent and probably kindred community of similar organisation and form of religious and domestic ceremonial. The Mongoloid tribes of Assam and the eastern frontier are also divided into sections professing blood-relationship, and therefore not marrying within the section, but trusting to their fellow-tribesmen of other divisions to provide them with brides, either by arrangement or capture. On the opposite frontier, the tribal constitution of the Paṭhān and Balūch races is of a markedly different type. The Balūch tribe is bound together by political rather than ethnic ties, owing allegiance, that is, to a common Chieftain; but amongst the clans which go to form this unit, there is found very often, if not usually, the tradition of blood-kinship, surrounded by a fringe of strangers who have affiliated themselves to the community for the purpose of mutual defence, and who, after a term of probation, are admitted to full tribesmanship. The subdivisions of these clans are exogamous, and there is a tendency, but nothing stronger, towards endogamy within the tribe. Amongst the Paṭhāns the tribe is more closely knit, and the bond is kinship in the male line. As amongst the Balūch, however, strangers are admitted to qualified membership, tending, in time, to be treated, by fiction, as kinship. There is not the element of allegiance to a common Chief,

though in many cases such dignitaries do exist and are regarded as war-lords and representatives of the tribe in dealing with the outer world. But the internal management of tribal affairs is vested in a tribal Council, composed of the Heads of clans or other subdivisions of the main body. Marriage takes place, as a rule, within the race, and in practice is regulated by Muslim, not tribal, prescriptions regarding affinity. The influence of these races, especially of the Pathān, upon the whole population of the western Panjab, has had the result of substantially modifying the social structure, elevating the tribal, or blood connection, enlarging the marriage field, and generally promoting the adoption of the freer life of the Highlands in preference to the stricter and more elaborate system which prevails throughout Brāhmanic India.

§ 14. **Caste.** It is with the latter, however, that this review is mainly concerned, and the only object of the above remarks is to differentiate the organisation of, so to speak, the pure races of India from that of the great mass of the population. Amid the bewildering variety of the complicated civilisation of this last the one and only characteristic which can be said to be universal is the sentiment which underlies the scheme of life upon which the whole of the social edifice is based and its component parts are respectively distinguished and coordinated. This sentiment, moreover, may be said to be the very spinal cord of the main religion of the country, supplying the vitality and support which neither doctrine nor ritual are sufficiently coherent to provide. By its means, Brāhmanism has become, as has been said by a competent observer, "a way of life, "interwoven into the whole of existence and society; placing every natural habit and duty upon a religious basis so entirely that it is impossible "for a Brāhmanist to draw a distinction between sacred and profane. A "man's religion means his customary rule of every-day life. His whole "social identity belongs to his religion". (Lyall, *Asiatic Studies*.) This omnipresence of the religious sanction and the rigidity which it imparts to diversity elsewhere susceptible of diminution or effacement is not only the most prominent feature of the social organisation of India, but is also peculiar to the latter, marking it out as distinct from any other civilisation in the world. In other respects, there is little in the system which is not to be found, or which has not at some time or other existed, in other countries, even of the West, though it has there been long ago worn away by other influences. The crystallisation of certain bodies into definite orders or classes, for instance, is a common, almost a universal, trait, and amongst them the tendency to become hereditary and as exclusive or aspiring as circumstances allow may almost be called natural. A superior and conquering race, again, has been known elsewhere to settle for generations alongside of a population in every way inferior to it, compelling the latter into servile conditions and drawing upon it for wives and concubines without making any return in kind. Sacerdotalism, too, has had its day of supremacy elsewhere than in India. Restrictions in regard to the choice of a wife and upon participation in meals of a commemorative or other ritualistic significance, are, of course, common property. But in no other case has the position of a sacerdotal class been so firmly established nor has its influence so deeply permeated the whole of a vast community, as to enable it to prescribe, under the sanction of religion, a code of elaborate prescriptions on domestic and personal conduct which is accepted by all as the ideal, according to the relative conformity with

which the rank of every group of the society, from top to bottom, is unalterably settled. A system of this description, which, practically unchanged in its main principles, has for many centuries regulated the lives of millions; which is absorbing every generation more and more of the tribal population of a lower type brought into contact with it, and which has not only successfully resisted, but has even been to a great extent assimilated by so dogmatic and uncompromising a rival as Islām, must obviously have its roots very deep indeed in the proclivities and traditions of the multitudes living under it.

Whether it be indigenous to India, or whether it existed in an embryonic form amongst the Āryas before their great dispersal, is a question which has been the subject of wide and erudite discussion. Probably it is insoluble, most theories of primitive society being apt, according to Sir Henry Maine, to land the adventurer in a region of mud-banks and fog. This, remarks the author of the last Census report (1901, p. 546), "is more especially the case in India, where the palaeological *data* available "in Europe hardly exist at all, while the historical value of the literary "evidence is impaired by the uncertainty of its dates, by the sacerdotal "predilections of its authors, by their passion for wire-drawn distinctions "and symmetrical classifications, and by their manifest inability to draw "any clear line between fact and fancy, between things as they are and "things as they might be, or as a Brāhman would desire them to be".

§ 15. The social divisions which form the units of the system in question are known in the West by the name of Castes, which was given them by the early Portuguese travellers. It is said to be derived from the Latin word *casta*, pure or unmixed, in itself connoting segregation, and was applied by Camoens, for instance, in the sense of tribe or even race, to the Pulayan or helots, in contradistinction to the Nāyar, their conquerors. It needs but a very short time in the country to bring home to the most casual observer the ubiquity of the institution, and to make him acquainted with some of its principal exoteric features. He might possibly feel himself in a position to define it, an enterprise from which after longer experience he would shrink, as the more caste is studied, the more numerous are the qualifications found to be advisable in describing it. It is necessary, however, for the purposes of this review, to set forth in terms as definite as the case allows the leading features of the community which forms the main subject of this work. Of the many definitions which have been given by various authors, the most satisfactory, on the whole, is that adopted by Mr Gait, the joint author of the last (1901) Census Report, in dealing with the castes of the Province of Bengal, "A caste", he says (p. 354), "is an endogamous group or a collection of "endogamous groups, bearing a common name, the members of which "by reason of similarity of traditional occupation and reputed origin are "generally regarded . . . . as forming a single homogeneous community, "the constituent parts of which are more nearly related to each other "than they are to any other section of the society". From this it appears, then, that the members of a caste may only marry within its limits; but nearly every caste is made up of sections upon whom the same restriction is imposed with reference to their limits, the title of the subdivision being added to that of the main aggregate. The occupation, again, which is common to the latter, is a traditional one, and is not by any means necessarily that by which all, or even most, of the group make their living



in the present day. On the other hand, the common origin, which is now claimed by most, is largely a matter of fiction, accepted, however, without cavil. The factor of public opinion, too, is of some importance in the definition, since the view taken by an aspiring section of a caste of its relationship to the main body is apt to differ from that accorded to it by the other castes amongst whom its lot is thrown, whilst the acquaintance of the upper classes with the organisation of those below them, and their interest in it are of the slightest, until perhaps an encroachment comes within measurable reach of their own position. It sometimes happens, therefore, that a subdivision by retaining its own title but substituting a fresh one for that of its main caste, obtains a jumping-ground for a new start in society, which may impose upon the outer world but not upon the immediate surroundings. Reverting, for a moment to the definition, it may be noted that while endogamy is the chief characteristic of the organisation, an exception is found in the case of the Rājput, or military caste, which is based upon exogamous clans or tribes. These have in many cases fixed their own circle of intermarriage within the caste on considerations other than those current amongst the rest of the Brāhmanic community. There are apparently ethnic reasons for this peculiarity, to which reference will be found below.

§ 16. The caste system being an institution essentially and exclusively Indian, the question arises whether its origin is to be sought amongst the Aryan immigrants or to be ascribed to those whom they found in possession of the field. Or, again, assuming that it is the resultant of the contact of the two social systems, what is the influence respectively attributable to each? The view now very generally held is that it is the product of no single cause, but that to its establishment in the form in which it now prevails, several factors, Aryan, pre-Aryan and hybrid, have at different times contributed. Of these by far the most prominent is the hieratic influence by which the main principles of the system were fixed and the standard set by which social position is graduated. That influence derives its authority entirely from the Vedic tradition, so it becomes necessary to see what information is obtainable from that source regarding the social organisation of the community amongst whom it originated. As in regard to all else concerning the earlier life of that community, reference must here be restricted to the Sūktas of the Rksamhitā. These compositions must of course be defective in some respects, and from their character and the occasions they were intended to serve they cannot be expected to furnish a complete and detailed picture of the organisation of the body to which they relate. Nevertheless, the general conditions of life among those peoples were simple, and the relations between those who offered the sacrifice and the divine power whose good offices were solicited through it were so intimate and practical, that from the large collection of effusions handed down to posterity a very fair general notion can be formed of the leading facts relevant to the subject under consideration.

§ 17. It appears, then, that at the comparatively advanced stage of progress which the Vedic Āryas had attained by the time represented in even the earliest invocations of the collection, the community was organised into clans, or groups of related families which, in turn, were collected into tribes, to which the clan was subordinate. Various other terms are met with implying subdivision of either tribe or clan. They all refer to a pastoral life and indicate a by no means high degree of cohesion.



Alongside of these sections were two classes or orders, evidently of later development: the nobles, headed by a Chieftain, and the ministers of religion, who conducted the public sacrifices. The mass of the community below these orders is collectively referred to as the "clans", or "peoples", always in the plural. The Family, as a unit, was strongly developed. Its worship was purely individual, strictly secluded from that of its neighbour, and conducted in private by the Paterfamilias conjointly with his wife. The tribal sacrifices were open to the "clans", and were conducted, at least in the stage to which the Sūktas relate, in the presence of the Chief of the tribe, by a priest acting on his behalf. It seems probable that the ritual had by then reached a pitch of complication which necessitated the employment of trained professionals, but the performance of this act of faith was not otherwise the exclusive privilege of the sacerdotal class, for occasionally scions of ruling families officiated, and there are cases in which the right of the priest was disputed by others. It is obvious, however, that the duties fell more and more into the hands of trained experts, irrespective of the personal separatism which tends to attach itself to a sacrificial priesthood, as the ceremonial became more elaborate, and still more, after the invocations which accompanied it had ceased to be improvised and the compositions of the older Psalmists were recited in a regular liturgy. The experts closed their ranks against the layman, and became a class by themselves, whether they maintained their numbers by heredity or recruitment. It may reasonably be assumed, too, that the order of nobles, especially in the case of tribal chieftains, would gradually tend towards a hereditary character, though the frequency of intertribal strife and the migratory life of the communities militated against the consolidation of political authority in such hands.

§ 18. So far, it may be observed, there is nothing in the above more or less hypothetical social organisation of this branch of the people conventionally called Āryan which materially differs from what is known to have prevailed amongst the others branches of whom the early history is on record. It was after the Vedic tribes had debouched upon the plains of north-western India that their social system assumed its unique and special features. Here, two new factors awaited them, each being insufficient by itself to determine the future course of their civilisation, though the combination of the two led to that result. The immigrants came into contact, in the first place, with a race far below them in physical and social characteristics; and they found themselves, in the second, in the presence of a vast and fertile expanse of country over which the inferiority of their opponents allowed them to spread freely. Whatever may have been the difficulties in dealing with the Dasyus which were at first experienced by the Āryas, the superiority of the latter ultimately asserted itself in an incontestable manner, and those who resisted them were either reduced to subjection on their native soil, or rolled back before the advance of the new-comers. That the Āryas failed to take advantage of their opportunities to establish themselves upon a national basis appears to be ascribable to the fact that, except in race, they were any thing but a homogeneous body. Tribe was constantly at war with tribe, and in their slow onward progress there had been no signs of combined general effort. It is true that after they had been some time in the plains larger aggregates were occasionally formed by military Chiefs, but they were unstable and perpetually being dispersed and re-formed in the vicissitudes of tribal

contests. The stable element, then, in the colonisation, was not supplied by the Court and its army, but by the village. This community seems to have been an institution of very early date amongst the Vedic tribes, and was established upon a clan, or even a family, basis, cemented by the possession of a definite tract of pasture or arable land. The opportunity for forming detached and independent settlements of this kind was favourable. Land was plentiful, and whilst the supply of menial labour was provided by the Dasyus retained in subjection upon the soil of which they had been dispossessed, the danger of reprisal by the rest was removed as the more adventurous bodies of the Āryas extended their frontier further and further into the interior. The necessity of combination for mutual defence against the alien waned therefore into insignificance. The tie of tribe, never very strong or well defined, would naturally be subordinated to that of territorial ownership, especially if the smaller unit were founded on blood-relationship and settled communal interests, and there was no common end which made an urgent appeal for collective action. In these circumstances, the dispersal of the original Vedic communities far and wide under new and more prosperous economic conditions tended towards the development of a parochial separatism, which possibly the presence of large bodies of alien helots may have helped to divert from wider political conceptions. The village community being left, on this hypothesis, to itself, organised its members on lines suggested by its requirements, which multiplied, of course, in proportion to the increased resources afforded by a settled life. At the head of the social scale stood, as now, the possessor of land and bees; at the foot, the stunted and swarthy alien. Between these extremes room had to be found for the increasing number of handicraftsmen, as well as for the hybrid progeny of the Ārya by Dasyu women. What with the absorbing interests of this bucolic microcosm, and the absence of any specially powerful motive for political combination into larger units, the gap between the masses and the military dominant class tended to widen, and the fortunes of the ruling houses became a matter of comparatively little importance to the village. There remained, however, the tie of race. Whatever may have been the strength of this in pre-Vedic times, it became very prominent, as has been stated in the Introduction, when the Āryas came into collision with the Dasyus. The one term used collectively of the whole of the former community is the "colour" of the Ārya as contrasted with that of their foes. In the invocations, until, that is, a period is reached when bodies of other and non-Vedic Āryas appeared upon the scene, this characteristic is made practically equivalent to worship. The worship, in turn, was that of the Family, originally expanded on special occasions to the sacrifice offered under the auspices of the Chieftain for his tribe. The latter ceremony may easily have waned without affecting the essential daily rites of the household, to which, indeed, the dispersal of the tribe and the constant presence of the Dasyu helots at the gate might be assumed to lend additional value. Nor, again, would the expansion and re-formations of the Āryan community tend to diminish the influence of the professional, or Brāhmanic, ministry. This had probably grown into a closed body before the dispersal, but it was attached in the first instance to the person of the Chieftain, and obviously could not be otherwise than dependent upon those on whose behalf the priestly offices were undertaken. The Brāhman, then, was bound to follow the fortunes of the rest of the community, and scatter as they

did. They, in turn, could not well dispense with the services he alone was competent to render. The language of the invocations had become obsolete, but texts from them were an essential part of every ceremony, and had passed, it would seem, into the stage of spells, potent only in the mouths of those who had professionally learnt them, a class which had taken care to prevent others from participating in that advantage. The value of this qualification increased, naturally, as the various bodies of those who placed their faith in it receded further from their traditional race-unity. There were other conditions, too, favourable to the growth of sacerdotal influence, and to the transfer of the attention of the hieratic order from the fluctuating fortunes of the military aristocracy, (by whom, moreover, its exclusive and privileged character was by no means uncontested,) to the more amenable medium of the incoherent democracy of the village, where the circumstances were evidently open to organisation.

A good foothold was provided in the high value placed upon the purity of the family blood, the maintenance of which was the predominant object of the Vedic social system, as it seems to have been that of other Āryan communities in their early days. The ideals and practice of the upper classes in regard to such a question constitute the hall-mark, as it were, of gentility — in the older sense of that term. Their natural tendency, accordingly, is to filter downwards through the society, each section adopting, as it attains a secured position, some measure of precaution against degradation through admixture with bodies which it considers its inferiors. Whether this sentiment of exclusiveness hardens into separatism or is merged in wider conceptions depends upon the circumstances in which the community happens to find itself during the early period of its settled existence. Pressure from outside may necessitate a political organisation which reacts upon the domestic structure, or the struggle for life within the community itself may tend towards a more comprehensive grouping. In the advance of the Āryas into India neither of these motives seems to have been predominant. The way was open, therefore, for the confluence of the two peaceful currents which had throughout all vicissitudes preserved their continuity — the sentiment of family purity and the hieratic administration of the ancestral worship. In regard to the former, the foundations of a closed order based on heredity had been laid, as mentioned above, amongst the priests and the nobles, at a very early period, and the bias in favour of such distinctions amongst the "clans" was necessarily accentuated by the contiguity of the dark races, on the one side, and the evolution within their own community of occupations unrecognised, because unknown, in Vedic tradition. Manual industries, it should be borne in mind, were invariably depreciated by the Ārya of the west, where they were relegated to the servile population; and in India, whether they were carried on by the Dasyu, the half-breeds, or the poorer members of the Clan, they could not fail to bring into prominence the possibility of contamination or abasement of position, either on racial grounds or by reason of the inherent or conventional impurity of the calling. In these circumstances, the idea which seems to have been adopted to prevent the flowing tide of impurity from submerging the cherished landmarks of pride of family and of race, was to establish an alliance between conventional purity of race or calling with the ancestral religion of which the Brāhman was the sole exponent. The situation could be stereotyped by the establishment of the distribution of society upon divine

ordinance. It is true that as is now generally admitted, Caste, still less the Caste-system — which is the subject now in hand — did not exist amongst the Aryas of the Sūkta period. The materials for it, however, had been provided by their descendants, and it only remained for the Brahmins, who were now in a position of power in the interior, to set their seal upon what they found ready to hand. The Puruṣa-Sūkta of the R̥gveda, decreed by modern scholars to be the product of the latest Vedic period, verging upon that of the early Brāhmanic supremacy, is the Magna Charta of the caste system. In this composition, a divine origin is ascribed to four classes, the social position of each of which is thus irrevocably fixed. The two first are the Vedic orders above mentioned. Then comes a third, the title of which is derived from the Vedic term for the "clans" in the aggregate, whilst a place of degradation is made for the lower orders generally, in which, apparently, though the point is not certain, is merged the Dasyu community. Into this strictly demarcated classification were compressed all the numerous sections of the population existing at the time when the Brāhman Procrustes undertook its application to the facts of everyday life. In such an arrangement it is obvious that the leading place in the social hierarchy would be assigned to the Brahman, and that any encroachment upon that supremacy would be amply provided against by the establishment of the principle of heredity in determining rank. Endogamy is here implied, as it is essential to the preservation of the family or caste purity that the mother of the heir should not be the medium by which any taint can be introduced into the blood. The principle underlying the scheme of organisation seems to have received universal recognition, possibly because the standard of purity in regard to function had already been fixed by public opinion, whilst that applied to social intercourse, being bound up to a great extent with religious ceremonial, would be graduated in accordance with the example set by the class which prescribed or regulated that branch of caste duty. It seems doubtful, indeed, whether the two lower classes of the Brāhmanic scheme ever had more than a literary existence, and were not a convenient expedient for severing the masses from the privileged classes. As a further security against a rivalry which in after times, perhaps through Buddhism, became troublesome, the Brāhmins, in due course, proclaimed the Kṣatriya order also to be extinct.

§ 19. Assuming the above hypothesis to be well founded, it is clear that whilst the system upon which Indian society is organised is due to the influence of a hereditary priesthood, which acquired thereby a position of unparalleled supremacy, there is no need to "smell Jesuitry" in the history of its genesis, and to brand it as nothing more than the full-blown device of subtle and self-regarding Brāhmanism. It appears, in fact, that the sacerdotal element in its elaboration was met at least half-way by the inclinations of the lay public, as evinced by the form their civilisation had begun to assume. The sacrosanct position of the Brāhman being once established as the pivot of the system, the development of the latter preceded on the lines indicated by the code of purity adopted by the priestly order. Recognition of the inherent sacredness and spiritual authority of the Brāhman became essential, and even the great sectarian movements in derogation of the exclusive privileges of the sacerdotal class left caste untouched, and ended, accordingly, in the actual, if not nominal, acceptance of that condition as the inevitable apex of the system they



retained. Doctrinal orthodoxy, indeed, could not have had much weight in the social balance after the pantheon had been enlarged to admit the claims of popular local deities, and the non-Āryan beliefs and ritual had been adapted to the flexible requirements of the Brāhmins. Schism on religious grounds occurred, no doubt, in the earlier times, as it has continued to do, and fresh subdivisions were formed in consequence, but these involved no change in caste or social position unless they happened to entail the violation of prescriptions relating to the purity of the family or the individual. These prescriptions are the operative part of the system, regulating as they do, marriage, food, occupation, and intercourse with the rest of the community. They are thus of a quasi-public character and the breach of any of them brings the stigma of pollution not only upon the individual but upon the family and the castefellows who come into contact with the offender. They are, moreover, comparatively easy of detection, and are thus well within reach of the discipline of the caste tribunal, a consideration of some moment amongst the masses, with whom detail looms higher than in classes where tradition is stronger and position more assured.

Other factors contributed, of course, to the consolidation of the system; and amongst them have been included the devout belief in the omnipresence of supernatural agency, permeating all classes from top to bottom, and predisposing them to submission to priestly authority. There is, again, the doctrine of metempsychosis, which, regarding the present as the direct heir of the past, lends valuable support to the notion of predestined lot in the successive births into this world to which all are subject. The apathetic character of the people, also, is taken into account, and the marked absence amongst them of the "noble discontent" with their circumstances which spurs men on to efforts to improve them. It is open to question however, whether the two last preceded the institution of the caste system, or not. Be this as it may, the most potent factor is the Brāhmanic standard of purity, and the desire to emulate it. This is the thread upon which is strung the astounding collection of otherwise independent communities into which the population of India is now divided and which multiplies almost every year the number of its units. It underlies the demarcation by race, in the form in which it chiefly prevails, whether amongst the village menials or the Hill tribes which have become or are becoming, castes, as they abandon customs which are incompatible with it. In function, again, which in its lower grades is closely connected with race, the social gradations are based upon the relative cleanliness of the pursuit, though not without a glance at the ancestry of those who have taken to it. Religious differences only lead to the formation of a separate caste, when as above indicated, they are accompanied by a departure from the social observances of the original body, upwards, it may be, or in the opposite direction. The constant multiplication of castes, indeed, is attributable for the most part either to the assumption by a section of an existing caste of a higher standard of purity than the rest in occupation, marriage regulations, or food; or, on the other hand, to the excommunication of a section from fire and water for a violation of the caste rules regarding such matters. This fissiparity of castes is a subject of great intricacy to which space does not allow more than cursory reference here. It is necessary to make some mention of it, however, in order to show that, rigid and compressive as may be the framework

of society imposed by the caste system, it does not preclude mobility within the multitudinous cells of which it is composed, and provides, too, for the increase of their number by accretion from outside. It is perhaps still more important to note that the converse process does not take place. A section once split off does not rejoin, nor do different castes coalesce with each other to form larger communities of the same character. With the object of illustrating these features of the system in actual operation, a brief description of the more representative castes has been included in the latter portion of this review. Through this more information may be gained, it is hoped, than can be conveyed by a series of general statements, each of which, like most general statements concerning India, requires abundant qualification to meet local exceptions. It must never be forgotten that India is not a country but a collection of countries, and though caste as an institution is universal, and the basis of the system which has been the subject of the foregoing review is the same throughout, the form assumed by the superstructure raised upon that foundation differs materially in different regions. If any generalisation be sustainable, it would be, perhaps, that caste tends to be strong where the population is generally prosperous, and also where the system was adopted after it had reached maturity among those who were the means of introducing it. It tends to be weak, on the other hand, where the means of subsistence are less abundant, and occupations, therefore, cannot be so strictly demarcated as they are under more favourable conditions. The stage of civilisation, too, attained by the time Brāhmanisation set in, seems to have been a factor of some weight in determining the extent to which recognition should be accorded to local customs and beliefs.

§ 20. Thus, in the south-Dravidian part of the peninsula, the caste system flourishes in full vigour; but it has simply been engrafted upon Tamil institutions, and, as far as the masses of the people are concerned, little change has been effected by it in their food or their special regulations regarding marriage; still less in their worship, in which the Brāhman takes no part except where one of the more powerful of the local maleficent goddesses has been adopted as a manifestation of some Puranic divinity. The lower orders there occupy a position of degradation differing from that of the corresponding castes further north in that a good many of them do not accept it; and having a working tradition of former power, if not supremacy, they are continually making efforts to get their claim to a higher rank recognised by their actual superiors. The subdivisions among them increase accordingly. On the other hand, the artisan castes are here found united to an extent unknown in the present day elsewhere. This combination is of long standing, and is probably the origin of the Right and Left-handed distribution of castes which is only found amongst the Tamil people. The South, again, having always been fertile in sectarian disputes, doctrinal schism amongst the local Brāhmanas has resulted in some instances in separation in social intercourse, another development not found elsewhere. The Brāhmanism of Telingāna has considerably less of the pre-Āryan element, left in it, probably because there was partial colonisation of the Andhra region through Orissa or otherwise, by immigrants from the Ganges valley, before the Dravida region was reached. The inhabitants, accordingly, though lax in their observances compared to the Brahmanists of the North, consider themselves higher in position than the Tamil castes, and when settled amongst the latter, avoid inter-



mixture as far as possible. The greater prosperity of the South, however, has given to its caste system a strength and complexity not found in the present day in the less favourable conditions of the upland tracts. Along the East coast the Tamil features prevail almost till they join the Orissa system, which, probably from the isolation and the timid character of the population, has the reputation of being the most bigotted and priest-ridden of its kind. In Lower Bengal, the system is an exotic, as in Madras, and was introduced long after it had reached maturity in upper India. It took root however, under different auspices. The country was occupied by the Āryas or their hybrid descendants in the course of their general expansion down the valley, and the population encountered consisted of the wild tribes of the forest or amphibious dwellers in the Delta, Kōl or Mongoloid, easily subjected, like the Dasyu of the north, and not, like the Tamil communities, long settled on an agricultural basis, to be approached by missionary enterprise only, not by armed force. The subject classes seem to have been left to assimilate their organisation to that of their superiors without tradition or authority to guide them. When, at length, the official graduation of society was taken in hand by one of the more powerful local rulers, the flood of Islām overran the country before the new regulations had time to gain foothold amongst the people. It appears, therefore, from physical features and the titles of caste subdivisions that bodies were formed either by race, afterwards split up by function, or by community of function overriding race differences and often determined by locality. The relations between these bodies, therefore, are more than usually indefinite, and owing to the absence of a landholding aristocracy of the military order and the comparative weakness of the Brāhman immigrants, changes or claims to change of rank are more frequent here than in any other part of India. Amongst the lower classes these pretensions are usually based, as in the Tamil country, upon tradition, often not without foundation, of a former position far above that now assigned to them. For generations they have been deposed, but the prosperity they enjoy in modern times induces them to revive their dormant claim. Still more immature in its development is the caste system, if so it may be called, which prevails in the Assam valley. Setting on one side modern immigrants from Bengal and the Brāhman, there is but one community of even nominal Āryan origin. It is now held to represent the early Āryan immigrants, who reached the seclusion of the Brahmaputra valley before the caste system had been developed in Bengal or wherever these colonists originated. In their case the development was apparently retarded, first, by pressure of Mongoloid tribes around them, conducing to a united front; and, later, to the hold which Buddhism obtained for some time over this tract. The above caste, or racial community, included all the ordinary professions but they were not formed into castes, and even now that process is by no means complete. Even the higher classes are lax, too, as to intermarriage, and visit the *mésalliance* of a girl upon her individually, not upon her relations, as would be done in other parts of India. The Brāhman, too, falls into line with the rest, and disregards the stricter rules of his order as to marriage. Special arrangements exist for the incorporation into castes of the indigenous population; and the facilities they afford for a subsequent rise in rank on increased observance of conventional purity are unwontedly liberal. The same spirit is manifested in the relations between orthodox Brāhmanism and the Kōl and Dravidian

tribes of the Central Belt. The tribes of Chutiā Nagpur tend to get merged into the Bengal system, and those of the Satpura and Vindhya, where conversion seems to lead to more complete breach with the older régime, gradually mix with the lower castes of cultivators in the plains. Between the Jamnā and the Ghogrā or even the Kosi, the caste system seems to have developed upon what may be termed more normal lines than in any other part of India, as is, perhaps to be expected from the proximity to its birth-place. The process of evolution was seriously interrupted, however, by the Muslim occupation, which scattered the leaders of society and swept away many old landmarks. In course of time, the old order was reestablished in full force, though the traces of the cataclysm have never been quite effaced, especially amongst the functional castes. It is worth noting that in the upper Jamnā tract and well into the eastern Panjāb caste remains entirely unaffected by conversion to Islam. It is held by some, indeed, that by the elimination of the Rājput, or fighting man, the Muslim left the way more open to the Brāhman, whom they disdainfully ignored. At all events, the present social conditions of the region longest and most absolutely held by the Moghal régime appear to confirm conclusively the evidence afforded by the relations between Brāhmanism and the pre-Āryan worship of the south and centre, to the effect that the hold of caste upon the popular mind is altogether detachable from religious doctrine, and rests, as indicated above, upon its social restrictions. In the western Panjāb caste is weaker than in any other tract, and this seems to be attributable to the combination of two influences. First, there is the tribal sentiment, derived from the vicinity of the Paṭhān and Balūch, referred to earlier in this work. It found a ready acceptance amongst the Rājput and Jāt races of the plains, who were themselves organised upon a tribal basis, with a lightly worn veil of caste thrown over the arrangement. Then, again, the struggle for life in a comparatively infertile country conduced to the mobility of occupation to an extent seldom necessary in the richer tracts to the eastwards. The adoption of a lower class of calling under pressure of need leads, of course, to the loss of social position, but not, as it would on the Jamnā, to excommunication. Caste is also weak in the lower Himālaya, but for a totally different reason. These valleys are the only tracts to which the Muslim never penetrated, and, under the auspices of refugee Rājputs, society is there constituted upon a system untouched by foreign influence. The Chief is emphatically the fountain of honour, and can uplift or degrade a caste or even a family as he pleases. In the Panjāb Hills, therefore, caste is remarkably fluid. Every community above the menial aspires to rise by some means or other to the rank of that above it, whilst it takes wives from and eats with, that immediately below it.

The various tracts which have been mentioned present the most strongly marked peculiarities in their caste systems, but in each of the rest there will be found certain characteristics in which it differs from others. Into these it is not proposed to enter except cursorily. In Sindh, for instance, the whole population embraced Islām, and the only large indigenous Brahmanic caste left is that of the traders. The rest, however, have maintained both racial and functional divisions regulated generally on caste lines. The adjacent peninsulas of Gujarat have been frequently occupied by aliens, and this fact, together with the fertility of the mainland, tends first, to great subdivision of castes, the titles of the sec-

tions indicating intermixture of races as in Lower Bengal, and then to strict observance of caste discipline, as in the Gangetic region. The Konkan, too, has had from time to time a strong influx of foreign Brāhmans, and this, along with its isolation, have helped to rivet firmly the priestly yoke upon the people. In Rājputāna, too, as is natural considering the history and character of the ruling classes, Brāhmanism is in high honour, though the difficulty of making a living in the desert portion of the tract allows a latitude of occupation among the poorer castes similar to that which, for the same reason, prevails amongst the probably kindred tribes of the middle Indus.

Distinctions such as these are illustrated as far as space allows in the following pages of this work, where, in the description of its main constituent parts, is shown in actual operation the system of which the development and conjectural origin have been outlined above.

### B. Descriptive.

§ 21. Regarding the subject in its ethnographic aspect, it is obvious that it must be a task of extraordinary, almost insuperable, difficulty to reduce to anything like accurate numerical terms the component parts of so vast and complex an organisation as that sketched above. It should be borne in mind that the object of the Census is to obtain a record not only of scientific value in the service of ethnography, but of practical importance in the every-day administration of the country. The social position and the numerical strength of different sections of the community are essential facts in connection, for instance, with public instruction or with measures for the promotion of the comfort or convenience of the locality. The Courts of Justice, again, are frequently called upon to decide questions of rank or privilege in which the relative numbers of the litigant parties are points relevant to the inquiry, and which cannot be safely left to the evidence of the disputants, in view of the "megalomania" which is probably at the bottom of the whole controversy. Even the identification of an individual cannot be satisfactorily established in the case of many of the more important social divisions by less than two or even three, successive questions, and often the credibility of a witness is decided by a casual detail of caste convention. On these considerations, and with an eye to the known probability of error in the direction of either excessive generality or excessive minuteness of description, provision was made at the Census for the return of social divisions under two headings, first, the main body, such as caste or tribe, and, secondly, the subdivision to which the individual may belong. In the larger communities, indeed the latter is the more distinctive designation, and was adopted, accordingly, as the unit of compilation in the returns prepared for local use. Lower than this it is unnecessary, for administrative purposes, that the inquiry should go; but it must be recognised that from the ethnological standpoint, the more minute subdivisions of the community are often more pregnant of suggestion or information than those of which they form a part, and must be adequately dealt with in any special investigation, such as that now engaging the attention of those employed upon the Indian Ethnographical Survey.

It must also be understood that neither the Provincial nor the Imperial returns claim to present anything beyond a partial and very imperfect picture of the astounding fissiparity of the Brāhmanic social system in the

full vigour of its present existence. The Imperial Table, even after a somewhat drastic process of compilation, contains nearly 2,400 separate items, and the project of expanding it to the full limits of the subject inevitably calls to the memory of the expert the concluding verse of the Gospel according to St John. Take, for instance, the feature of endogamy alone. Every subdivision recorded in a Provincial Table, covers, if the main body be widely spread, many others, none of which intermarries with the rest. Not only so, but the main body itself does not recognise any social tie with the body bearing the same name located in a distant part of the country, even though, as sometimes, happens, the same vernacular language may be spoken by both. Each of these local subdivisions, moreover, is divided into its respective endogamous sections; some of them professing a different religion, and occupying, perhaps, quite a different position in the social hierarchy of the neighbourhood from that of the synonymous section elsewhere. Even the Provincial groups, therefore, subjoined to the general aggregate in the Table, convey an impression of homogeneity not in correspondence with the actual fact.

§ 22. With the above qualifications and reserve, then, the figures to be found in the Imperial returns must be taken as providing as trustworthy information as is now available upon this branch of the subject. In the Tables, the items are arranged in alphabetical order, a form of record which has its advantages from an official point of view, in that it raises no awkward questions as to position or precedence; and, if accompanied, as in the Madras list, by a brief practical account of the principal divisions, it is useful for reference on individual cases. There, however, its function ends, and some form of coordination becomes necessary before all these isolated nuggets of information can be got to collectively yield their tribute towards the common object of illustrating the main characteristics of the social organisation of the different regions of India. It is as well to admit at the outset that in view of the varied origin and history of the social divisions in question and of the various forms the social system has assumed, no classification upon a single definite principle is possible. It is equally judicious to assume that, taking into consideration the diverse and often mutually inconsistent theories held as to the basis and general principles upon which the system rests, no such classification, even were it possible, would be universally accepted. Race, consanguinity, function, creed and policy cover respectively a considerable portion of the ground, but no one of them covers the whole or can be made the standard by which the divisions as they now exist can be graduated on the social scale. It might be thought that in view of the extreme value attached to conventional purity, and the minute rules in regard to it by which the intercourse between the different sections of the community is, by unanimous public opinion in each locality, undeviatingly regulated, a touchstone might be found in it by which social rank might be assayed. This, however, is not the case. Irrespective of the difficulty of obtaining a formal decision on individual cases, owing to prejudice and the general ignorance of the position of classes below them which prevails amongst those who would ordinarily be consulted, there is a marked difference in practice in regard to intercommunion between the greater part of Continental India and the Peninsula, and even between province and province. The criterion which would be adopted would be whether or not certain higher classes would take from the community in question water or certain kinds of food, and these lines



of demarcation are in most cases so far apart, including that is, so many communities in each class, that they afford little or no graduation of the masses respectively enclosed within them, and without further internal subdivisions the groups are of little practical significance. Now, for the purpose of this review, which is mainly to render the facts assimilable by those who have not been brought into personal contact with the civilisation of India, the basis of that subdivision will be found in function, overlying in some cases a distant but traceable background of race. It will be found that, as a rule, graduation upon this basis is in general harmony with the current conceptions regarding hereditary purity which prevail in India. The term function, it should be explained, is not limited to the occupation actually followed in the present day, but extends to that traditionally ascribed to the body in question, and is more frequently than not implied in the title of the caste. This expansion of meaning is necessitated by the mobility of occupation in modern times, on the one hand, and, on the other, by the consideration that whilst function usually takes rank in relation to purity according to the character of the service performed or of the material handled, there are numerous cases where the public estimate is formed upon the origin of the community by whom the occupation is pursued, and thus takes its stand upon racial considerations rather than upon the intrinsic nature of the pursuit. Elsewhere, again, race alone is the determining factor; but here the community, as a rule, stands, as explained above outside the Brāhmanic system. The influence of the latter, however, extends far beyond the limits of the Brāhmanical religion. The definition of caste quoted above is therefore applicable without serious modification of its essentials to communities of not only Jains and Sikhs, but, except in the North-west, even of the Muslim persuasion, as they rise in wealth and in the power which wealth, even under Brāhmanism, is able to exercise. These instances have been included, accordingly, in the review which follows, important differences of religion being duly noted against them. As regards the review itself, it is not intended to serve as a Glossary, or to give an account of all the castes and tribes which find place in the Imperial returns, but merely to bring to notice the principal bodies under each of the heads into which Indian society has, for the purpose of exposition, been here marshalled on the lines laid down above.

§ 23. At the head of the list are placed certain groups of an exceptional character, whose position differs somewhat from that of the rest. The Brāhman naturally stands first, as the keystone of the whole social scheme. The Rājput, again, is an order of nobility rather than a caste in the ordinary acceptation of the term. With, but after, them may be taken the trading and writing classes, both of which in Upper India, though not in the South, claim distant connection with the Rājput, and who, with the Brāhman, constitute what are known as the Educated classes of India. Here, too, may be placed the religious devotee, or mendicant orders, who, by virtue of their profession have abjured caste, though in more than one instance only to re-form themselves into something very like a caste of their own.

In dealing with the masses of the population, the first fact of which cognisance should be taken in regard to the general arrangement of the castes is the remarkable preponderance of the agricultural element. Cultivation is the premier employment of the country, and to occupy a holding is the main object of the bulk of the rural population. In the little oligarchy, therefore, known as the village community, the landed classes stand at the



top, and where, as in all but the east of India and the tracts still under the forest tribes, that community exists in an organised form, the classes included therein are all subservient to the needs of the peasantry. Each of these economic units contains a recognised body of artisans, minor professionals and menials, to whom is assigned respectively a small share of the village land or of its annual produce. Mixed in with these, are found the various large bodies of fishers, cattle-breeders and others, some of whom hover between the fields and their eponymous means of subsistence. To the village, then, as it is understood in India, is dedicated the second of the main divisions of the list, followed by a small group of minor, or subsidiary professional castes between village and town. In the third are placed the castes exercising functions specially or exclusively the product of city life. In placing them after the rural bodies it is not implied that they rank below the latter from whom in most cases they originally sprang, for they stand, as a rule, a little higher; but they are, as it were, bye-products of the hive, outside the normal output, and on lines parallel to the main organisation. Then, detached from either town or village, except in a few cases where a permanent pied à terre is kept for shelter during the rainy season, are various tribes of travellers and nomads, some of whom are real castes, others a nondescript collection of waifs often consisting of "broken men" or people discarded by other communities. The greater number of the latter are numerically small; but there are a few which include large and respectable communities. Finally, some reference must be made to the bodies not coming within the caste system, such as the more or less primitive tribes of the Hill-tracts, and also the Muslim races foreign to India in their titles, though to a great extent native in blood.

As regards the arrangement of the items coming under each head, functional or other, it seems best to deal with the return territorially, or by linguistic divisions, as the case may be, in order that prominence may be given to the marked differences in the caste system which are found to prevail.

## CASTES AND CASTE-GROUPS.

### A. Special groups.

§ 24. **Brāhmans** (14,893,300). Considering that the participation of a Brahman is essential to the validity of all ceremonies of a social character amongst the great majority of the community which takes its religious title from this order, it is not surprising that the latter should occupy the first place in the returns both as to numbers and dispersion. In every part of India, except the eastern and western frontiers and the hills of the Central belt, the Brāhman is found in very considerable numbers, and tradition, which in this case, at all events, is corroborated by the evidence of physiognomy, nomenclature and custom, is almost unanimous in pointing to the upper Gangetic region as the place of origin. From this nucleus Brāhmans found their way in very early days across Rajputana and Malvā to the west coast of Gujarāt. In the south of the Peninsula, the earliest appearance of this class was probably not much earlier than the Christian era, and for the next eight or nine centuries the supply seems to have been plentiful and constant. The Brāhmans of lower Bengal trace their

origin back to the 10th century, when a considerable colony was imported by the reigning sovereign from upper India and acclimatised in the north and west of the present Province. Orissa received, or produced, its stock a little later, but there seems some reason to think that there was an earlier strain which had become extinct, or had degenerated below the standard exacted by the dynasty which had established itself on the coast. The frequent invasions of upper India from the north-west during the ten first centuries of the Christian era are credited with the dispersal of large bodies of Brāhman from Rājputāna and the Madhyades'a, some of whom took refuge in the seclusion of the Nepāl valley, others in the west Dekkan; others, again, fled by sea through Sindh or Kāthiāvād to various settlements along the west coast. Amongst the latter were at least three Brāhman communities who have preserved a credible tradition of their northern origin. The Brāhman was never organised into a tribe upon a territorial basis, but was, from the beginning, parasitic upon other classes of the community. In Vedic times he was part and parcel of the fortunes of the Chief, his patron. In later times, as the tribes settled, multiplied and expanded, he attached himself to the landed classes, his principal clients, for "unde vivent oratores si defecerint aratores?" Still later, again, he was liable, according to numerous traditions current amongst the Brāhmans of to day, to be imported in large bodies to a distant Court on the invitation, not always declinable, of the pious ruler. When, moreover, there is taken into consideration the incorporation into the Brāhmanic order of local communities and of priests and exorcists of the wild tribes accepting Brāhmanism, the capricious exercise of the powers of Brahmanification arrogated to themselves by sundry of the Chieftains, and the results of left-handed unions with the daughters of the land, the extent to which the Brāhman is scattered far and wide is no matter for surprise. The land, however, where they first became a consolidated body and established the hierarchy they have since dominated, is still that in which their numbers are both absolutely and relatively the greatest. Between the Jamnā and the Ghogrā, roughly speaking, there are about 4800000 Brāhmans. Of the vast population of Bengal, 2900000 are of that order; these two Provinces, therefore, account for more than half the total number. Brāhmans abound, too, relatively to the population, in Rājputāna, and Madras, Bombay and the Panjab each contain between a million and a quarter. The distribution over these large areas is not, of course, even. Orissa and Bihār stand out above the rest of Bengal, except for a few places in the centre of the Province. Further up the Ganges, Oudh surpasses the sister Province of Agra in the relative number of its Brāhmans, and it is worth noting that Gonda, the traditional seat of the Gaur section of Brāhmans still maintains its preeminence. The prevalence of Brāhmans along the eastern bank of the Jamnā extends also for some distance to the west in both Rājputāna and the Panjāb. In the former tract there is a large settlement in the so-called desert States of the north and west, but in Sindh and towards the domain of the Balūch and Pāthān, scarcely any are to be found. In the Panjāb, the greatest relative prevalence of the sacerdotal element is found in the outer-Himālaya, where Brāhmanism reigns in unwonted vigour. In the west of India, the Brāhman is well represented on the wealthy plains of Gujarāt, and holds a strong position throughout the Dekkan. In the Dravidian tracts, his numbers are fairly evenly distributed over the main linguistic divisions.

§ 25. In spite of the unique and universally recognised position the Brahmans hold in the estimation of the multitude, they have never formed themselves into a single and homogenous body. Their very dispersal over the length and breadth of the continent, in communities different in origin, speaking different languages and eating different food, makes such cohesion impracticable. It has, indeed, had the effect of making them perhaps the most heterogeneous collection of minute and independent subdivisions that ever bore a common designation. Possibly, too, the absence of territorial settlement to which reference was made above, lends greater weight and permanence to a subdivision based on considerations other than those connected with landed property, and has promoted, accordingly, the stricter observance of caste separatism. However this may be, the main lines of distribution are geographical, beginning with the ancient partition of the Brahmanic order into the five Gauda, or Northern sections, and the five Drāvida, of the South. To the former belong the Gaur, from Gonda in Oudh, the Kanaujia, of the Central Doāb, the Sārasvata of the upper Jamnā, the Maithila, of Tirhūt, and the Utkala of Orissa. South of the Vindhya come the Mahārāṣṭra, of the Dekkan, the Karṇāṭa, of Mysore and the neighbourhood, the Āndhra of Telingāna and the Drāvida of the Tamil country. Added to these are the Gurjara of the west, who, curiously enough, though grouped amongst the southerners, are all northern in their origin. Except in the case of the three first mentioned, these divisions are of little practical significance in the everyday life of the present time, since they are severally partitioned into numerous main subdivisions, each of which is in turn, again, minutely split up into a still greater number of separate endogamous communities. The majority of the larger castes thus constituted have a territorial origin, generally well to the north of where they are now settled, except, of course, amongst those still occupying the traditional centres of Brāhmanism, such as the Gaur, Kanaujia and Sārasvata. Subordinate to these are the local offshoots, which are very generally attributable to schism on points of ceremonial or food, and, in the Drāvida country, to sectarian or doctrinal disagreement. From time to time, too, the scheme has to be expanded to admit some new recruits from outside the fold, who are usually placed low down on the scale, though not irrevocably doomed to remain there, if circumstances turn out favourable to their advancement. Throughout the local community, the rank of each subdivision relatively to the rest is fixed by a convention effectively backed by the public verdict; but this graduation is not necessarily recognised at a distance or where a different language is spoken. In every linguistic group, moreover, there are certain classes which, though called Brahmans by the public, and enlisted to perform some of the ceremonial functions of the Brāhman, are either not recognised by other Brāhmans, or are relegated by them to a degraded position, inferior, in reality, to that to which many of the non-Brāhman castes are admitted. The acme of subdivision in combination with ceremonial exclusiveness, is probably reached among the Kanaujia, of whom it is said in their native Province, "Three Kanaujia, thirteen cooking-fires". The Gurjara Brāhmans, again, are popularly credited with 84 divisions, but this being a popular expression of multitude in general, the number actually found, viz. 79, may be taken as fairly correct, especially as all the larger items in that lengthy list have their respective sub-castes. The Brāhmans of the Dekkan are perhaps as little split up into sections as any, but on the coast-strip of

the Konkan the subdivision is more minute, owing, probably, to the foreign strain introduced from time to time. The Brāhman of Bengal and Madras, where the system is of later introduction, hide a complicated interior under a comparatively small number of main divisions, especially in the latter, where caste has been affected by the doctrinal schisms of which the clouth since the days of S'aṅkarācārya and Rāmānuja, has been prolific.

§ 26. It was stated above that the subdivision of Brāhman communities is often traceable to differences in regard to food and ceremonial. These, in turn, depend to a great extent upon function and the means of livelihood accessible. Strictly speaking, the Brāhman, as pointed out earlier in this work, is by origin a functional order, but with the expansion of the Ārya population in post-Vedic times and the growth of the Brāhmanic community beyond the need of the layman for its specific ministrations, great latitude had to be allowed, no doubt, from a very early period. In the present day, within the fairly wide limits which he himself has set, the Brāhman is represented in a large proportion of what may be called the upper and middle class occupations of India. But whichever of these he may take up, his inherent qualities are unabated, and he is still entitled to the homage of the rest of the community, and remains the accredited intermediary between man and the supernatural. In the latter capacity his bare living is assured to him without need to work for it, because in all formal rites such as those connected with birth, marriage, death, expiation or thanksgiving, the provision of a meal for a certain number of Brāhman is an essential and costly feature. In the more prosperous parts of the country, accordingly, there is usually a plentiful supply of Brāhman of whom it has been said that "they exist only to be fed". On every side are to be found subdivisions which, in the eyes of their compeers, have fallen from grace by participating in the feasts of wealthy but impure clients. In another direction there are instances on record where the number of local Brāhman available for a ceremony of this sort not being equivalent to the aspirations of the Chieftain interested in it, the quorum has been made up by him by a special creation out of such lower material as was at hand. Service at a temple, it should be noted, is not undertaken by the better class of Brāhman, as it is held to be degrading, and left, accordingly, to those low in station. In several cases the claim to be accounted a Brāhman rests entirely upon the performance of those duties. The inference drawn from this estimation of temple service is that the divinities in question are those of the non-Ārya, incorporated from time to time into the Brāhmanic pantheon, as the community which revered them was brought to adopt the social system of the higher race. It is probable that the distinction drawn between the acceptance of offerings by a Brāhman in requital for specific services and those made to him on general grounds has its root in the same tradition; for whilst to the donor offerings of any kind to a Brāhman are held to be productive of spiritual merit, only one of the lower class of the order will accept gifts for exorcising evil spirits, averting the baleful influences of an eclipse or certain combinations of stars, reciting the appropriate texts for pilgrims at a bathing place, or helping at a funeral, and the like offices.

The secular pursuits affected by the Brāhman vary considerably according to whether the caste is settled in the locality in large numbers, whether the tract is prospering, or whether the Brāhman first came into



it as a pioneer and colonist or as a propagandist or an exile from another centre. Political employment has been congenial to the Brāhman from the time when the Purohita, or family sacrificer, was treated by the Rājan as his confidential adviser in the Sūkta period, and the caste has continued to throw up from time to time men who have been distinguished for their administration of Native States. The great chance of the Brahman came, of course, under the Pēśvā rule, when the whole of the military organisation built up by the Marāṭhās fell to the disposal of the Citpavan Brahman of the Konkan; and for seventy years or more, the Dekkan was dominated from Poona, and the whole of the administration was conducted by the local and the coast Brahman. Even in the present day, the Marāṭhā Brahman has almost a monopoly of clerical employment throughout the Dekkan, Konkan and Karnatic, and with the traditions of former supremacy to encourage him, he stands quite in the van of his order in intelligence and general ability. In some other parts of the country the Brahman is the only class besides the trader who can read and write to any practical purpose, and he thus becomes, of course, the scribe, if not the official accountant, of the village community. Even in the tracts where a serious rival is found in a professional writing class, the Brāhman usually has a share in the State appointments to which the "literary proletariat" of India look mainly for their subsistence. Of the learned professions, Law and Instruction are the more attractive to this caste. A few take up the lower branches of Engineering, and still fewer the practice of Medicine, a following which is to a great extent barred to them by reason of caste-scruples in regard to the surgical training involved. In commerce they have not made their way beyond the universal venture in lending money to their neighbours, to which every Indian capitalist, according to his resources, is inclined. The Brāhman shares, also, the general aspiration to own land, either as an investment or as a possession honorific in the eyes of the lay world. Wherever they have settled in large masses, as in the Gangetic Doāb and Oudh, or in compact local colonies, which probably preceded their advance as a sacerdotal body, they have taken to cultivation on the same lines as the ordinary peasantry, except that they but very rarely put their hand to the plough, though they go as far as standing upon the crossbar of the harrow to lend their weight to that operation. Owing to this caste-imposed restriction, probably, it may be noted that wherever the Brāhman has settled otherwise than as a part of a large general community, he is the centre of a well-defined system of predial servitude, his land being cultivated for him by hereditary serfs of undoubtedly Dasyu descent. This is the case with the Masthan of Orissa and Gujarāt, and with the Haiga or Havika of Kanara, and the Nambūtiri of the Malabar coast, all of whom have settled in fertile country. Where the pressure of circumstances is very severe, as in the desert States of Rājputāna, the Brahman cultivator not only does the whole of his own work, including ploughing, but even sells his labour to other more fortunate occupants. A military career may appear to be somewhat alien to the traditions and inclinations of a sacerdotal class, nevertheless in the vicinity of the Ganges it has proved by no means unattractive to the Brahman peasantry. The Bhūnhār, or Babhan, of the south eastern parts of the upper valley, are credited by some with Brahman ancestry, which endowed them with enough of the Ksatriya qualities to enable them to push forward in advance of the main body of their race, and to hold against the



Kôl, or other previous possessor, the land they still occupy. The nickname of Pandy, again, bestowed upon the rebel troops collectively by the British soldier, is no other than Pāṇḍē or Paṇrē, the title of the subdivision of the Kanaujia Brāhmins from which a high proportion of the recruits of this caste were then enlisted. Since 1857 it has been found that minute caste-scruples as to diet and contact are incompatible with the exigencies of modern field service, whilst the personal sanctity of the Brāhman private is apt to turn out inimical to the due observance of regimental discipline. Amongst the Muhial Brāhmins of the Panjāb, therefore, the pride of caste has given way before the taste for the profession of arms, and the would-be recruit of this community drops his Brāhmanhood when enlisting, and is enrolled under some other designation. In former days, when, as under the Pēśvās, Brāhmins were themselves at the head of the forces, and not in subordination to the foreigner, and when war was carried out on very different lines from those of to-day, commanders of this caste acquitted themselves worthily, and showed both resource and courage in the field.

§ 27. **Rājputs** (10,040,800). In this case, the community is unmistakeably military in its origin, with the old baronial attributes of landed-estate and leadership of an armed force. People are returned at the Census under this designation in considerable numbers from all parts of India except the South, but nine-tenths of them hail from north of the Vindhya and west of the Kōsi. The Provinces of Agra and Oudh alone account for 3,950,000. In the Panjāb there are 1,820,000, and in Bihār, about 1,200,000. The cradle of the Rājput is the tract named after him, not, however, as it is limited in the present day, but extending from the Jamnā to the Nabadā and Satlaj, including, therefore, the whole of Mālvā, Bundelkhand, and parts of Agra and the Panjāb. From the northern parts of this tract there seems to have been an early movement of conquest up the western rivers of the Panjāb, as far as the Himālaya and Kashmir, whereby was laid the foundation of the predominance of the tribes still in possession. With this exception, the presence of Rājputs in other parts of India seems due to their expulsion from their ancient seats. The legendary occupation of Kāthiāvāḍ from Mathura is ascribed to an attack delivered from the south and east. Successive inroads of Scythians and Hūnas caused a movement to the south-west, into Gujarāt; but the principal and most definite migration followed upon the Muslim conquests of the 11th and 12th centuries, which drove large bodies of Rājputs towards the Himālaya and eastwards across the Ganges into the Doāb and Oudh. From thence, as well as from Bundelkhand, they spread into the adjacent parts of Bihār, especially those north of the Ganges. A certain number, too, are found in the north of the Central Provinces, where the boundaries between British territory and Central India are very complicated. Beyond the above limits the original stock is not found, and even within them, it has in some cases been materially watered with local blood, when the distance from the race-centre makes the operation fairly safe, and the community is sufficiently well established to maintain its marriage connection at its conventional level. The presence of so many Rājputs in other parts of India is accounted for by the fact that the title, originally, in all probability, derived from function, denotes, as has been stated, an order of hereditary nobility, access to which is still obtainable, and whose circle, accordingly, is being constantly enlarged upon much the same con-

siderations as of yore. The essentials of the position are the chieftainship of a tribe or clan and the command of an armed force, with the possession of a substantial landed estate and a scrupulous regard for the strict letter of Brahmanical regulations as to marriage, domestic customs and intercourse with other classes. It was on this basis that in the Panjāb the Jāt was differentiated from the Rājput, and certain castes in Oudh and its neighbourhood rose above their fellows. In other cases, the above requisites being established, the elaboration of the claim to affiliation to one of the recognised Rājput clans is left to the ingenuity of a competent Brāhman with the aid of an experienced bard or genealogist. For example, on the adoption of Brāhmanism by a large portion of the Mongoloid population of Manipur, the chief and his military retainers passed into the rank of Kṣatriya, and to the number of about 180 000, appear under that title in the last Census returns. The leading families of various Kōl tribes of Chutiā Nāgpur, again, are constantly, in Col. Dalton's phrase, "being refined into Rājputs" and sometimes do not wait for 'times' effacing fingers" to conceal the change, and too often ignore the essentially Rājput system of clan-exogamy in favour of their pristine tribal arrangements. There is, in fact, no section of the Brāhmanic hierarchy into which recruitment from the outside has been more extensive or to which the claims to membership have been so numerous. The latter is especially the case in the tracts where the caste system has been imposed as an exotic in comparatively modern times. In Lower Bengal, for instance, such claims are remarkably frequent, and this is attributed to the adoption of the ready-made caste-system by a number of different racial stocks without its graduation being authoritatively regulated by a powerful Chief under the guidance of a council of influential Brāhmans. In Madras, again, caste was engrafted upon an already well-established civilisation to which it had to accommodate itself according to circumstances. In the former, therefore, the Rājput, except as before stated in Bihār, is redolent of the local soil, and takes rank therefore below certain other castes which have come to the front under the peaceful conditions of a Province where arms have long succumbed to the tongue and pen. These classes, therefore, do not lay claim to the title of Rājput, but to that of Kṣatriya, implying a position less definite and less likely to be disputed by existing communities. Similarly in the South, whither the Rājput never penetrated, unless it might be in the form of representatives of more or less evanescent dynasties, the rank of Kṣatriya is claimed almost exclusively by members of the labouring and toddy-drawing castes, who justify their pretensions by the undisputed fact that their ancestry furnished the rank and file of the archers and other infantry of the local potentate. Instances will be found in latter parts of this Chapter in which the status of Kṣatriya is claimed by many castes of far higher position in the present day than those just quoted. Various legends are current proving that whilst the Puranic assertion of the total extirpation of the Kṣatriya is true, the ancestry of the claimants in question had somehow or other escaped the general destruction, and are the lineal inheritors of the hypothetical Vedic rank, although the majority of them obtrusively avoid any occupation savouring of war. This much appears to be true, that there was a long breach between the heyday of the post-Vedic ruling classes and the genesis of the Rājput. The former were apparently staunch supporters of Buddhism, in its inception a movement in their favour, whilst the latter arose with

the forces which deposed that religion in India, and established their position upon the ruins of the States which had professed it. The ground for the evolution of a new military nobility seems to have been prepared by the establishment in Upper India of successive sovereignties of S'aka race. These professed Buddhism, and were thus antagonistic to the orthodox Brāhmanism. But after they had carried their arms far into the country, and the Panjāb and its neighbourhood became their principal seat of government, they seem to have become affected by the prevailing social atmosphere, with which, as has been stated, the tenets of Buddhism were by no means out of harmony. One of their monarchs, indeed, is claimed as their founder by more than one of the chief clans of the present-day Rājputs. In the continual disturbances which occurred between the first century before Christ and the downfall of the principal Scythian dynasties in the 7th century A D, the Brāhmanic powers were wont to invoke the aid of any arm, Indian or foreign, which might promote the defeat of their rivals. The incorporation of such leaders into their ranks could be effected without much difficulty, firstly, through the prestige of a victory in the good cause, and, again, through the fiction, dating from a far earlier period in Indian history, that the foreign tribes which pressed upon the frontiers of Brāhmanism were themselves Brāhmanical backsliders of the warrior order, who had lost their position by reason of their neglect of the orthodox rites. Upon the hypothesis that the suppression of Buddhism was an act of faith entitling the protagonists to be received back into the fold, it became possible to combine gratitude with policy, and, by the substitution of a new designation, Rājput, for the old one of Kṣatriya, to effectively demarcate from the former state of things, the new order established under the uncontested supremacy of sacerdotalism. None of the Rājputs prove their pedigree further back than the 5th century of the Christian era, and four of the leading tribes of the present day, known as the Agnikula, or Fire-clans, derive their origin from a specific act of creation under Brāhmanic auspices, whereby the sun and fire-worshipping Hūna or Gurjara was converted into the blue blood of Rājputāna, and became the forefathers of the Sisōdiā, Cauhān, Parmār, Parihār, and Sōlaṅki or Cālukya, and perhaps of the Kachvāhā lines. Other cases of similar elevation are to be found, and, considering the dominant position held by Scythian communities in the north and west of India for many centuries, together with the affinity between their worship and that of a popular branch of that of the Brāhmans, and the common northern origin of the two races, it is not improbable that the upper classes, at all events, of the new comers should have identified themselves with the corresponding classes of those amongst whom their lot had been permanently cast. There are, moreover, special features of the structure and customs of Rājput and Jāt and other northern communities in India which distinguish them from the Brāhmanic masses of the interior, and may be attributed to difference of race, perpetuated by many generations of resistance to attacks from the outside. The least that can be said is that a race-connection of the above description could not possibly have existed so long and then faded out without leaving substantial traces of its passage upon the people subject to it. It may be added that Rājput dynasties did not rise to power until sometime after the Hūna supremacy had been broken in the 6th century, and that the genealogies of the tribes now ruling States start from about the 7th century. The contests with the Muslim

invader of a few centuries later had the effect of consolidating the Rājput devotion to the scrupulous observance of Brahmanic injunctions as to marriage and intercourse with other castes which specially distinguished them from their foreign oppressors; and to the present day, they stand out from the rest of the community in the high value they attach to these matters. Like the Brahmins, they are greatly subdivided, but with this important difference, that whereas the Brāhmins may only marry within the subdivision, the Rājput may only marry without it, though within the Rajput pale. The larger subdivision is, in fact, taking the place of the smaller as the circle of prohibited affinity. Conjecturally, this difference in practice may be due to the fact that the Rajput clan is definitely traceable in its origin to a historic leader or family, involving, therefore, a tradition of blood-kinship the more vivid from its being associated with territorial ownership. The tribe or order, again, being spread continuously and in considerable numbers over a large area, with uniform conceptions as to rank and function, the marriage field is a wide one, and the graduation of each unit in its social position has been arranged on considerations which override the normal limitations of caste. The regulations as to intermarriage, therefore, though exceedingly strict, have a wider scope than among most of the other Brahmanical bodies and are in some cases arbitrarily imposed upon itself by the clan on considerations of rank alone. So strict indeed, are they in regard to what has been called hypergamy, that amongst the upper grades of Rājput society, the girl is held to be a burden upon the resources of the family to an extent that leads to reprehensible means of preventing her from reaching a nubile age. The scarcity of brides thus produced, combined with the expenses of the marriage, tend to the formation of left-handed unions with lower castes, the offspring whereof ranks with the mother, or, where numerous and recognised, constitutes a new caste by itself. The latter is the case in the west of India, where the bastards become court dependants. In Orissa, they all rank as Rājputs. In Nepāl there is the curious instance of the children of a Hill woman by a Brāhman becoming Rajput, and forming the kernel of the large military population of the State. In the Kangra Himalaya, where the continuity of tradition and lineage has been less interrupted than anywhere else, the Chief is a law not only unto himself but unto his subjects in regard to social position and caste, so that the rank of Rajput depends very much upon the royal favour. Considering the part played by Islām in the dispersal of the Rājput ruling families, it is worth noting that in the Panjāb, not only have three fourths of this caste embraced that religion, in both the west and east of the Province, but that conversion has had no effect upon the social position of the Rajput. In the east, where Brahmanic influence is supreme, change of religion is said to have no result upon caste regulations. In the west, where the Pathān atmosphere predominates, the scheme of social restrictions and prescriptions is Brahmanic, but, as in the east, the sanction by which it is maintained is that of the tribe, not of the caste, and intermarriage and so on is governed by the position of the body in the present day, rather than by considerations of origin, such as are involved in caste.

From what has been said above it may be inferred that the functional scope of the Rajput is but narrow. Traditionally, he rules, fights, owns land and indulges in field-sports. In practice, he carries out this scheme of life as far as circumstances allow, but the rank and file of his



order are cultivators, and not among the most efficient of their class. The Rājput has the same objection as the Brāhman to handling the plough, and the strict seclusion in which the women of the caste are kept deprives him of an aid in the minor agricultural operations which in the lower castes is often most valuable. In the Gangetic regions the Rājput still enlists in considerable numbers in the "Hindustani" regiments of the British army. He often, too, dons the official belt as a constable or messenger, in upper India and Gujarāt. On the whole, however, the general disinclination of the caste to avail itself of the facilities for instruction now within its reach is placing it at a disadvantage as compared with the middle classes, in the modern conditions of Indian life. Only the subordinate grades of official and professional employment are open to them, and in the army, also, promotion beyond a certain rank depends now-a-days upon education, and the Rājput is losing by the competition of Sikh, Paṭhan and Gurkhā in the profession of his choice, and is far outdistanced in civil avocations by those whom his caste prevents him from acknowledging to be even rivals.

§ 28. **Trading Castes** (10,680,800): This is the first of the distinctively functional groups to be brought under review. It is not, however, merely a collection of communities each with its separate designation, like those which have preceded it, but contains some general titles denoting the occupation of trading, but which do not include all the castes following that calling in the locality where it prevails. The leading example of these is the Banyā or Vāniā, of upper and western India, under which name are included nearly all the trading classes, but not important castes like the Khatri and Arōrā in the Panjāb, or the Bhāṭiā and Lohānā of Sindh. There are grounds for thinking that the exclusion is due to differences of race. The Khatri and Arōrā, like the Banyā, derive their origin from Rājputāna, in the larger sense in which that term was used in the preceding paragraph, but the latter affiliate themselves directly to certain clans of Rājputs, whilst the former refer themselves back to the Kṣatriya, and give the western region of Mūltān and upper Sindh as the cradle of their caste. It has been conjectured from the customs and internal structure of the Khatri and Arōrā, which differ in some respects from those of the ordinary Brāhmanic castes, that these communities are descended from one of the Saka colonies which long held the tracts above mentioned. The Banyā, with the exception of the Agarval, who come from Agar near Ujjain, give the now ruined city of Bhīnmāl, or S'rimāl, in Marvāḍ as their original home, and claim descent from the Sōlaṅki clan of the Agnikulā or Hūnā Rājputs, so that, like the Khatri, they are of foreign race. Whether owing to this origin or to the refining influence of generations of sedentary pursuits in prosperous circumstances, the personal appearance of the Banyā is decidedly above the average. The western subdivisions, such as the S'rimālī, Porvāl and Osvāl, which are all closely connected with each other, are largely, and in many tracts, mostly, of the Jain religion, a creed which seems to have commended itself to the mercantile community at a comparatively early period; and they allege the acceptance of the peaceful tenets of this faith to have been one of the main reasons for their separation from the bellicose Rājput. In the present day, except in Delhi, where a special casus belli arose some years ago, the Mahēsrī, or Brāhmanic section of the caste intermarries with the S'rāvak, or Jain, and the latter, in turn, employ for their caste and domestic mi-



nistrations, the Bhogak, or Sevak, a subdivision of Brahmans not in high repute among the priestly orders, representing, as they are said to do, the Maga sun-priests introduced from Iran by the Hūna and other invaders. In addition to the main divisions of the Banya, almost every body is subdivided into "full-scores" (*vīśa*) and "half-scores" (*daśa*), denoting the relative admixture of lower blood. In many castes the partition has to be carried still further, and the "quarter-score" *pañca* represents the minimum of pure descent. None of the subdivisions intermarry, though in the west there is occasional connubium found between the "vīśa", or highest sections of the respective castes. The Banya engage in most mercantile pursuits, from high finance and extensive foreign trade down to the retail of the most common articles of everyday use, so long as these are not conventionally polluting. They are not as wedded to their native place as most of the Indian communities, and settle, sometimes permanently, in villages where they are strangers both in caste and language. Others, principally from the desert States, habitually leave home for the more favoured parts of the country, and return only after their fortune is made there. The upper classes of the Banya are well educated and often keen sectarians in regard to religion. In some tracts they are entering the law and the State offices, though not in large numbers. The Khatri of the Panjab, on the other hand, in addition to the trade of all but the south-west of his province, has almost the monopoly of official and professional employment, and has passed even beyond the Panjab into parts of the neighbouring province in similar callings. This caste has what the Banya lacks, the tradition of administrative and political success, in which it resembles the Marāṭha Brahman mentioned above. Todar Mal, the celebrated financier under Akbar, was a Khatri, and has had more than one successor, though not of the same calibre. Then, too, though the bulk of the Khatri are not of the Sikh faith, they have always been connected with it, and both Nanak and Govind belonged to their ranks. In the present day, such priests as are required by the Sikhs are usually Khatri. In trade, though sharp and industrious, the Khatri does not take so high a position as the Banyā, but confines his operations generally to small local transactions, and does not, as a rule, set up branch establishments outside his native province. There are, however, a few colonies in Bengal, but they are detached, and their position is considerably below that occupied by the caste in its northern home. In some other parts of India there are Khatri returned who trace their origin back to the Panjab or north Rājputana, and were probably driven southwards by one of the Scythic cataclysms, and like others similarly circumstanced, found themselves obliged to take to new means of livelihood, generally silk-weaving. Closely allied to the Khatri, but occupying a decidedly inferior social position, are the Arorā of the south-western Panjab, who, starting from nearly the same region as the others, do not appear to have pushed their way into the fertile tracts of the north, but to have remained on the less remunerative plains along the Indus. In the same direction are the Bhattia and Lohanā of Sindh. The former have preserved in their title the memory of their origin in the Bhatti districts of north Rājputana, and claim descent from the predominant Rājput stock of that locality, just as the Banya of Bhinmal does in the west. There is this further similarity, that the Yadava race of the Bhatti looks back to a Śāka founder, in the grandson of Kaniska. There are still a good many Bhattia in the Panjab, where their

Rājput blood seems unquestioned, but, unlike the Khatri, their position seems to improve the further they get from their native country, and it is along the coast that they are most flourishing, and in upper Sindh most depressed. They have so arranged their caste-rules that they are able to cross the ocean without subsequent trouble, and are among the most travelled and enterprising merchants of Kach, Bombay, Zanzibar and even China. The Lohanā, again, are of Mārvād origin, but moved into Sindh very early in their history, and have there remained. From a centre at Shikarpur, they travel far into Central Asia and even to the banks of the Volga. One of their subdivisions (the Amil) has followed the example of the Khatri, and taken to clerical professions. Like its prototype, also, it has succeeded in monopolising the pick of official employment in its native province.

The figures given against the several subdivisions of the general heading of Banyā are much below the reality, owing to the omission in many, if not most, cases to enter the subcaste, and to the substitution of some such indefinite designation as Mārvādī, S'rāvak, Vaiś, and so on. This is markedly the case in Bengal, where, with the exception of the subdivisions dealing with specific products, which find place in a later paragraph, nearly the whole trading community appears as a single item. The Subarnabanik, it is true, has distinguished itself from its neighbours, probably because it claims a rank above that accorded it by public opinion. It is an immigrant body from upper India, and as a considerable number of its members are still engaged as assayers and money changers and it employs Brāhmins recruited from its own ranks, it seems possible that it is an offshoot of the Sōnār caste which elsewhere in India makes similar claims and is not unfrequently returned as a Daivajña or Viśvakarman Brāhmin, an assumption not yet accepted beyond its own members. Other artisan castes in the South make the same claim, but as the Subarnabanik is prosperous and fairly well educated, it will not improbably end, if not where it desires, at all events considerably above its present rank. In the Dravidian country, the trading castes differ from those above described in being almost entirely indigenous to the locality they serve. The movements which are reported to have taken place have been to comparatively short distances, such as those from the uplands of the Telugu country to the rich and thickly-peopled tracts of the south-east. There is this further difference between these castes and the traders of the north, that in most cases the former are intimately connected with, and probably sprang from, one or other of the great agricultural communities amongst whom they live, and from whom they are still distinguished by little else than function. One result of this relationship, and not an unhealthy one, has been observed viz, that where the business of lending money is carried on by people of the same class as the borrower, the dealings are on a less formal and more elastic footing than where, as in other parts of the country, the usurer has simply come to the village from a strange country to make his fortune out of the necessities of the natives. Considering that what with weddings and other ceremonies, every peasant is at some time or other a borrower, the above feature is not unimportant from a political as well as from an economical point of view. There is the usual tendency among those who prosper to adopt the ceremonial and customs of the local Brāhmins or to grow more scrupulous in their observance, and, amongst the Telugu traders, to assert in due course a Vaiśya origin, a

pretension which their form of caste-subdivision and their more intimate domestic practices flagrantly contradict. The Komati, for instance, wear the sacred thread and are divided into three territorial endogamous subdivisions, following the modern Brahmanic, not the Vedic, ritual. Their exogamous groups, however, of which there are a great number, are not Brahmanic but totemistic, derived from trees, plants or articles of food, the use of which is prohibited respectively to the group to which it belongs. Their marriage rules are those peculiar to the South and the ceremony is incomplete without the formal presentation of the friendly and symbolic betel-nut and leaf to a member of the impure leather-working caste, with whom the traders share a common tutelary deity. It is a good example of the growing refinement of modern times, that in order to mitigate the crudity of the above-mentioned act of social intimacy without breaking away from a possibly prophylactic tradition, it is now the habit for the bride's father to send a pair of shoes to be mended a few days before the wedding, and on the day of the ceremony to pay the cobbler with a betel-nut thrown in to the amount of the bill. The largest trading community of the Telugu country is the Balija, which is widely spread over the Tamil districts also, and there called Vadugan, or Northerners, or Kavarai, from the caste goddess. They have a great number of subdivisions, which are not, however, endogamous, as a rule, possibly owing to the practice of receiving into the caste refugees from outside who are in disgrace with their own kinsfolk. One division of the Balija, however, keeps itself apart, being descended from the Nayak Chiefs of Madura. Though it wears no sacred thread, it claims to be Kṣatriya. As a whole, the Balija are probably an outgrowth of the great agricultural body of the Kapu or Reddi. Like the Kōmati, they are in curiously close relations with the impure leather-workers and village menials of the locality. It might be inferred from this fact that the latter belong to a race preceding the present occupants of the soil, and like the Dasyu of the north, dispossessed of their heritage, but acknowledged to be influential with the gods of the village. The Banjiga is the Karnatic trader, and has no connection with his namesake the Banya. Generally speaking, the Banjiga, though much subdivided, is of the same stock as the Kanarese peasantry, whose proclivities towards the Lingayat faith it largely shares. In the Tamil country the trader is usually a Ceṭṭi a title which is nearly as comprehensive as that of Banyā. It covers several large and a vast number of small subdivisions. In most cases the marriage rules resemble in important particulars those of the surrounding peasantry of the better class. They worship the local goddesses and call in a carpenter by caste to bestow his blessing upon the bride and bridegroom, thus generally testifying to their local origin. Their main subdivision, the Naṭṭukottai, shares the reputation of the Bhāṭia for unwonted enterprise and success in foreign trade and travel.

§ 29. The last group to be mentioned under this head is that of the Muslim traders. These belong to the west coast, with the exception of the Labbai, who, though settled along the south-east, are nevertheless connected with those of Malabar by origin. The rest consist mainly of converts of long-standing from the Lohana and other traders of Sindh and Kach. Unfortunately, the full strength of these bodies is not ascertainable from the Census returns owing to the appropriation of the same title by different communities. The Khojah, for instance, of the coast, are

a wealthy body of enterprising traders converted to the Shiah form of Islām about the 13th century. They moved southwards from Sindh into Gujarāt and Bombay, and there, starting from petty shopkeeping, they have attained a very high position in foreign trade, and are noted for the number of the branches they have set up abroad. The Khōjah of the Panjab are quite distinct from these, though they too are converts from the Brāhmanic mercantile classes and mostly profess the Shiah tenets. They also, like the others, recognise as their religious head H. H. Āghā Khān, whose family migrated to Bombay from Persia about sixty years ago. The Mēmān, again, are of Sindh origin, descended from a body of Lohāna who were converted in the 15th century, and, like the rest, moved into Kach and Kāthiāvād. In common with the western Khōjah, they have preserved a good deal of their Brahmanic custom and tradition. In commerce they have risen to a good position, though not, perhaps, to the rank of the Khōjah. Their counterpart is found in the Momin or Momnā, a body of Gujarāt peasants converted about the same time as the Mēmān, and who are now chiefly weavers and cotton-goods dealers, with a few still on the land. About half of those returned as Mēman at the Census probably belong to the latter community, and about two thirds of the Khōjah are of the Panjab section. The last of the Muslim trading classes of the Bombay coast to be here mentioned is the Bohra, in its various subdivisions. These, like the rest, are converts to the Shiah faith from the commercial classes of the chief towns in Gujarāt, about the 11th century, and combine the strict observance of Muslim worship with a due regard for the Brāhmanic or pre-Brāhmanic methods of dealing with the personal or domestic supernatural. The upper classes engage in foreign trade, but the rank and file are content with a successful career in the retail shop, and are somewhat remarkable for their neglect of English in an otherwise efficient and well-diffused scheme of instruction. The Census shows under the same title the cultivating Vohorā of Gujarat, Sunni by sect, and retaining in most cases a fairly clear recollection of the Brahmanic caste from which they were converted, and adjusting their marriage arrangements in accordance therewith. About half the number of Bohrās given in the return belong to this class. On the Malabar coast are the Māppila and Jōnakkan, and on the south Coromandel coast, the Labbai. The last named are descended from an Arab colony, driven from its native country in the 8th century; or, according to another account, from Arab traders who married Tamil wives at a later date. Their connection with Arabia is indicated, in either case, by the name of S'onagan (Arabia) which they used to bear, and their present name of Labbai is said to be no more than a local rendering of labbaik, the Arabic for the familiar phrase "here I am". In practice they are orthodox Muslim, though like the Muslim of the eastern Panjab, they marry by Brāhmanic rites with a text or two of the Kurān recited to complete the ceremony. There is a small community living side by side with them, known as the Marakkāyar, who claim similar origin, but do not intermarry, and are apparently of more recent arrival. Both speak Tamil with a few Arabic words interspersed. Those who are not traders are engaged in betel cultivation and pearl-diving. The Māppila have been referred to in other parts of this survey as the chief Arabian colony on the western coast. They are placed in this group because it was as traders that they first visited Malabar, but in the present day this pursuit is practised only along



the coast, and the bulk of the Mappila inland are landholders and cultivators. In both capacities they have shown themselves thrifty and energetic. Their name is either an honorific soubriquet, shared by some other classes in the neighbourhood, or, as some think, the Tamil word for bridegroom, applied to the Arabs who married native women. In language and in many of the local customs of marriage and inheritance, they have identified themselves with the native population. The Jonakkan are no other than Mappila returned under a title given along the coast, especially in Travancore, to converts to Islam, and is possibly the Malayalam rendering of Yavana, the old Brahmanic designation for all foreigners hailing from the west. The community is recruited from some of the castes along the coast, especially the fishermen, of whom the Mukkuvan have in some families the curious rule that one of their children should embrace Islam. In remarkable contrast to the experience in the Panjab in regard to such conversion, it is alleged that the Malayalam is improved by the change in faith. Probably the original status of the convert was lower than in the north.

§ 30. **Writer castes** (2,750,300): The profession of scribe or clerk was in all probability unusually late in establishing itself in India owing to the jealousy with which all instruction was monopolised by the Brahmans, as well as to the extraordinary development of memory and oral tradition fostered by them. Setting aside the art of inscribing rock and copper, writing as a profession appears in inscriptions of the 8th century A. D., and a few generations later, the caste of the Writer is referred to under the same name as it bears in the present day. It may be gathered from the data available that the calling was in anything but good odour amongst the Brahmans and that the castes exercising it occupied but a low position. Their chance came when the Muslim conquerors, having established themselves permanently in the country, felt the need of clerical ability to help them through the labours of administration, and were unwilling, on sectarian grounds, to have recourse to the Brahman. In the writing castes the very material they wanted was at hand. The Khatri, as mentioned in a former paragraph, furnished several most efficient ministers to the Moghal régime; the principal supply, however, was, as it still is, from the Kayasth caste, which, from the upper Ganges, was introduced into Gujarat by the Muslim Viceroys and naturalised there. A similar colonisation was begun by the same agency in the Dekkan, but the local Brahman was there too numerous and too well-established throughout the country to leave room for a rival, and the offshoot from the main Kayasth branch, under the name of Prabhu, forsook the tableland for the coast, and settled in Bombay and its vicinity. Here they were found so useful by the early British merchants and officials that until a generation or so ago, Prabhu and clerk were synonymous terms in those parts. In the present day the main stronghold of the Kayasth is in Lower Bengal, into which they were introduced from upper India. Distance, however, as usual in India, has entirely divided the two communities, and there is no intermarriage between the Kayasth of Bengal and his caste-fellows of Bihar and the north any more than with those of the west coast. Even the local bodies of this caste are much subdivided into smaller endogamous sections, generally territorial. The position of the Kayasth and other writer castes in the social hierarchy has long been a matter of heated controversy. In what may be called the primary distribution of rank according to function no



place could be assigned to a body which was not then recognised as distinct from others. Literary qualifications which may well set off a Brāhman, are, by themselves, of little value as a passport to the esteem of a public deliberately illiterate. Distinguished members of the writing class, such as those mentioned above, were duly honoured as individuals, but did not ennoble the community in which they were born. The disproportion between the ability of the writer castes and the value of their work on the one side, and the company they were classed with in private life on the other, grew more apparent as, under the British system of administration, their prosperity and influence increased. It is no wonder, therefore, that efforts have been strenuous and frequent on their part to establish themselves upon a social footing higher than that now recognised by the arbiters in such matters. The line taken as that of least resistance is the usual claim to Kṣatriya lineage. There is not, however, in their case, the probability of racial difference between them and the Indian masses of the north and east which is lent, in the case of the Khatri and their offshoots, by tradition, physique and locality of origin. In the parts of the country, therefore, where Rajputs are found in strength and Brāhmanic influence is strong, the Kayasth is a respected caste high up in the middle classes, but nothing more. In Lower Bengal, however, where the Rājput is a casual exotic and the weight of Brāhman opinion is insufficient to appease the jealous ferment of an inchoate social system, the Kayasth ranks within a place or two of the Brahman, and practically, though not avowedly, above the warrior. In Gujarāt, where the clerical professions are by no means the monopoly of the writing castes, there is, in addition to the small colony of Kayasth, a still less numerous community called the Brahmakṣatriya, whose appearance and customs confirm their assertion of relationship to the Khatri of the Panjab. Their immigration, indeed, occurred as late as the 14th century. They are not only writers, but also holders of considerable landed estates in the most prosperous parts of the province, and their position is in many respects higher than that of their compeers in the north. Another nominal offshoot of the writers of the north is the Karan or Mahant of Orissa. This community is considerably subdivided into endogamous bodies, the more southern of which retain traces of non-Brāhmanic marriage rules. It is very probable, therefore, that those nearer Bengal affiliate themselves to the Kāyasth of that province, whilst the rest remain in closer communion with the corresponding groups of the Telugu country.

These last, with their Tamil congeners, stand on a different footing from the writer castes of the north. The upper grades amongst them, it is true, are strict in their observance of Brahmanic ceremonial, and wear, occasionally at least, the sacred thread. But, like the Dravidian traders, they appear to have arisen out of the cultivating castes, and began with being, what most are still, the accountants of the village, a branch of clerical work which, when not kept in the hands of Brahmans, is relegated to the lower grade of writers or even, as in Bihār, to another caste, and connotes an inferior social rank to that of the rest of the order. Intermediate between the Brāhman and the Karnam comes the Vidhūr, of the Marāṭha country, a small caste which supplements the clerical staff of the Central Provinces and Berār. By origin the Vidhūr is Brahman on the father's side, but maternally of a lower caste. Similarly constituted communities are found in the Konkan and other parts of the Marāṭhā

country. Finally, a place is found under this head for a caste difficult to grade elsewhere, though, according to its title of Vaidya, it ought to be dedicated to the practice of medicine. Nowadays, however, it includes both members of other learned professions and landholders. It is only found in Lower Bengal, where it occupies, thanks to the local obnubilation of the Rajput, a position inferior only to that of the Brahman. This high rank is due to the fact that one of the most powerful dynasties in this part of India between the 11th and 13th centuries, belonged to this caste; and the most renowned occupant of the throne, Ballal Sen, appears to have exercised with drastic results the regal function of making and graduating castes, a function which in the present time is retained in working order by the Chieftains of the Panjab Himalaya alone.

§ 31. **Religious Devotees and Mendicants** (2,755,000): The abdication of worldly position and the relinquishment of all possessions and family ties, in order to pursue an undisturbed course of contemplation preparatory to quitting the present existence, is a proceeding which has been strongly attractive to the higher ranks of the Brahmanic community almost from the post-Vedic organisation of society upon sacerdotal lines. Indeed, according to the strict theory of duty set forth in the treatises dealing with the Perfect Life, it is incumbent upon every Brahman thus to break with his former ties as he feels old age creeping over him. Although this injunction is substantially inoperative, there are other considerations which tend to swell the ranks of religious devotees in modern India. Looking only at the lower side of the case, the vast number of popular saints and deities, some universal, others with only local renown, is in itself an inducement to many to earn their living by invoking a blessing in the name of one or other of these objects of veneration upon the households within the area of adoration, receiving in return a handful of meal and a pinch or two of condiments. Life is easily sustained in the tropics upon this frugal diet, whilst the climate affords opportunities for a pleasant nomadic existence, which, if extended as it often is, to the visitation of the chief centres of pilgrimage, brings these classes into contact with their co-religionists from all parts of the country. It is no matter for surprise, therefore, that about one in a hundred of the population has thus taken to the road, leaving little room, accordingly, for the lay mendicant, outside the ranks of the maimed, the halt, the blind and the leper. But whilst the lower grades of the profession are laxly recruited and the members thereof take their calling very lightly, there is in all the principal orders a body formally initiated and put through a course of instruction in certain tenets of doctrine and morality which they are in turn sent forth to inculcate upon the community at large. Most of the great orders originated in the South of India. Some are said to have been instituted by the celebrated S'aiva reformer, S'aṅkaracarya, but most attribute their creation to his successor, Ramanuja. On reaching upper India, however, their constitution and practice were altered by Ramananda and Caitanya, who mitigated to a considerable extent the exclusiveness of their recruitment and the austerity of their regulations. The object which these bodies were originally formed to promote was the extirpation of Buddhism, a task begun by the great leaders of the Brahmanical revival. Confined at first to the Brahman and Kṣatriya, or Rajput, the orders began, in due course, to open their ranks to members of other castes, and then split up into two sections, the celibate, or ascetic, and the do-

mestic. The orders which admitted the lower castes too, were soon subdivided into the exclusive and the catholic branches, as in the case of the Vaiṣṇava of Bengal, part of whom came under the levelling influence of Caitanya. The branch which takes to family life forms separate endogamous communities, and judging from the number of women returned under the various titles, excluding certain castes which bear a name also borne by non-ascetic bodies, such subdivisions appear to be in the majority, for there are in the aggregate 90 women to every 100 men. In Bengal, indeed, the former are in excess, as they are in the population at large in that province. In upper India, however, there are many large establishments of the nature of monasteries which supply the bulk of the higher grades of itinerant teachers. Even in these, however, the functions of the fraternity are not restricted to religion, for some of the Mahantas, or Abbots, as they have been called, have been noted money-lenders on the strength of the funds and endowments of their charge. In former days, too, bodies of these devotees used to be formed into irregular forces, which exhibited in action the same fanatical ferocity as is now associated with the Muslim Ghazi and in the middle of last century with the Sikh Akālī. A remnant of one of these bands still survives, it is said, in the Dādūpanthī Nāgā of the State of Jaipur in Rājputana, a country associated to some extent with the expansion of the ascetic movement. It is not proposed to enter here into the doctrinal differences between the various fraternities further than to mention that there is the usual main division of the principal bodies into Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava, with many subdivisions, the latter school being the more modern. Nor, again, is it necessary to set forth in detail the sections of the orders, since being recruited from all classes of the population, regardless of caste or race, they are of no ethnographic importance, and under each head are included members of the Sikh, Jain and Muslim creeds along with those of orthodox Brahmanism. It is impossible, indeed, to state accurately the numbers falling under each head, owing to the loose way in which the principal designations are applied. Under the title of Fakir, for instance, which is specially applicable to Muslim devotees, nearly 450,000 Brahmanists and Sikhs are returned. The Atī, again, a general title, are given as identical with Gosāvī or Sannyāsī as well as under their own heading. Vairagī or Bairāgī covers not only the Vaiṣṇava and some of the Daṇḍāsī, but also most of those returning themselves as Bhāva or Sādhu, terms used of Brāhmanic devotees in general. Still more misleading is the return under Jōgī, an order differing from the rest in its origin, and conjecturally not called into existence to combat schism, but itself a heretical order, proscribed by the orthodox, probably on account of its then Jain or Buddhist proclivities. It is shown in combination with the Jugī, a class of coarse-cotton weavers in eastern Bengal and Assam, reputed to have come from the south-west, but undoubtedly taking its rise from some religious organisation of the lower classes, and now said to be "assuming the sacred thread en masse", and contesting its right to wear it against the local Brāhmanity. In upper India, the Jōgī or Yōgī community is divided into those who have a right to the title by profession and initiation and others who have assumed it for the convenience of their calling. The former, of whom there are two main subdivisions, have their monasteries and settled organisation, the latter who are returned in the Panjāb, Rājputāna and Gujarāt under the name also of Rāval, trade upon the reputation the other Jōgī have acquired

for obtaining supernatural powers of divination by dint of contemplation and mental abstraction: consequently, "any rascally beggar who pretends to be able to tell fortunes or to practice astrological or necromantic arts in however small a degree, buys a drum and calls himself a Jogi". The 43,000 Muslim returned as Jogi in the Panjab and its neighbourhood are thus accounted for. Considering the Dravidian origin of most of the ascetic orders and the traces of the South still preserved in their customs and nomenclature, it is remarkable that hardly any are now found in that part of India, and those chiefly of the lower class. Even the mendicants who there ply their trade in the name of religion hold no reputable position in the community. This is perhaps attributable to the fact that though the genesis of the great orders took place in the south, it was in the north that the need of their propagandist efforts was most pressing.

### B. The village community.

§ 32. In the greater part of India, the village as a unit not only of population but of land, has assumed a form not to be found in other countries. In European Russia, it is true, the system of rural aggregation bears a considerable resemblance to that of India, but has far less weight in the social organisation, and is far less bound up with the ethnic evolution of the country. The village, then, as it falls within the scope of this review, is an agricultural community on a self-sufficing basis, congregated, for the original purpose of protection, on to a single site, surrounded by a definite area of land the prescriptive right to which is invested in it. Originally, no doubt, the occupants of the soil formed a close corporation based upon kinship or common descent, but in the course of time that exclusiveness crumbled away, and new comers were admitted to the land, though on an inferior footing, in most cases, to the rest. The village exists for the agriculturist, and the exercise of other callings therein depends upon their necessity or utility to him, and this, in turn, depends upon the relative isolation of the village from other sources of supply. The staple staff of artisans and menials is remunerated directly from the soil in recognised proportions of the harvest, so much threshed grain from each landholder. The completeness of the organisation varies considerably in different parts of the country, but where it exists, its main features are much the same. The village, in the above sense, is not found in the comparatively recent settlements east of Bihâr, or on the Malabar coast; nor has it taken root amongst the more or less migratory tribes of forest tracts, where the insufficiency of arable land and the frequent flittings of the population from spirit-haunted or unlucky locations are adverse to so stationary an institution. Although, then, these tribes live mostly by rough methods of tillage, they cannot be counted amongst the landed classes, and are therefore dealt with apart from those to whom that designation is conventionally more appropriate. The latter can best be considered under two heads, first, the castes which hold their land as a military or formerly dominant body, and, then, the peasantry dwelling alongside of them without traditions of a status or calling other than that which they now enjoy.

§ 33. **Landholders, Military or Dominant** (23,702,400). Castes of this type may be expected to be more powerful and more prominently demarcated from the rest in the track of the great racial inroads from



the north-west. Eastwards of the settlements of the Paṭhān and Balūch tribes, which will be treated of in a later paragraph, a line drawn from the Gujarāt peninsulas, through Mālvā, to the Ganges, marks off the domain of the Rājput, Jāt and kindred tribes, whilst the Salt range of the Panjāb, and the sub-Himālayan tracts from the Jehlam to Nepal form their general limit on the north. East of Bihār, the Kōch, or Rajbansi, and the Āhōm may be said to occupy a somewhat similar position amongst the Mongoloid population. In the Dekkan, the Marāṭha may be included on historical grounds in this category, though his origin is doubtful and the limits of his caste wanting in definition. In Southern India the title of dominant is applicable to several Dravidian communities which rose into prominence with the dynasties of which they constituted the chief military forces, and on disbandment, either reverted to or assumed, the position of cultivators. There is no question here, therefore, of foreign origin. On the Malabar coast, on the other hand, the Nayar, though now thoroughly Dravidianised, is said to have come from the north. In Orissa, again, the Kṣāṇḍait makes the same claim, but is probably of much the same origin as the other Dravidian communities of this class.

Reverting to the castes of upper India, the Rājput has been dealt with in a former paragraph sufficiently for the purposes of this review. An important point in connection with the subject immediately in hand is the close connection between the Rājput and the Jāt, who ranks next to him both in numbers and position throughout the Panjāb plains, Rājputāna, and the upper Ganges and Jamnā valleys. It has been conjectured by some that the difference between the two communities is social, not racial, the Rājput being a Jāt leader who, after being successful in the field or on his estate, bound himself and his family to the strict observance of Brāhmanic rules and thus attained the pinnacle of orthodox repute, whilst the rest of his tribe remained Jāt in name and in their traditions and practice. In the circumstances of the two castes in the Panjāb in the present day there is much to support this view. Others hold that the Jāt belongs to a later wave of immigration than the Rājput, and entered the Panjāb from the west, by way of Sindh and the Indus, whilst the Rājputs were still in Rājputāna and its eastern neighbourhood. However this may be, the northern stock has now been fused, and though the Jāt no longer becomes a Rājput, the same tribe is found Rājput in one village and Jāt in the next. In the Jamnā tracts this is not the case. Whether because the Jāt arrived there direct from Sindh and remained at a distance from the seat of the predominant body of his tribe, or whether by reason of admixture with inferior Rājput blood, his physique and social position are lower. The Jāt par excellence is the peasantry of the Sikh tracts, where the tradition of political supremacy is still green, and the Jāt has nothing to gain in public estimation from either Brāhman, Rājput or Paṭhān. Along the Jamnā, he has succumbed to the prevailing influences, and looks up to the Rājput, whilst in the west, he does the same to the leaders of Muslim society, and his name has been there bestowed upon any cultivator of that religion, whatever his caste. Like the Rājput and other great communities in the north-west, the Jāt places religious considerations beneath tribal in his domestic arrangements, so it appears from the Census that one third of the population bearing this name are Muslim, one fifth Sikh, and just under half, Brāhmanist. As stated above, the Jāt is in the first place a cultivator, and the women of his family share to the full his



enthusiasm in the pursuit of the family calling. The Sikh Jāt is also a born soldier, not merely a combatant, but a disciplinarian, and equally efficient on the snow-clad ridges of Afghanistan and the steamy plains of Trientsin. Next to the Jāt in rank, and probably akin in origin, comes the Gūjar, a caste as to whose descent there has been much controversy between the pro-Aryan and the pro-Scythian. The caste is now generally affiliated to the Gurjara, a tribe which was settled in the neighbourhood of the Caspian, and entered India either in company with or at the same time as, the Yetha or White Huna, of whom they are said to have been a branch. They spread very widely over the west and north-west, and one body of Gurjara obtained a dominant footing in the western province which is now called after them. Their connection with it, however, after the downfall of their dynasties, was dissipated into innumerable channels of castes, where it is recognisable only in customs and in the titles of some of the sub-castes. The greater portion of the Gūjar settled in the Panjab and along the Jamna, with a considerable colony in Oudh. In the first named tract, again, they have left their name behind them in several places, but it is only in the submontane portion that they can now be called a dominant tribe. In the plains they follow their traditional occupation of cattle-breeding, combined, it may be, with cultivation, in which they are not so expert. Their unrestrained devotion to the horned beast is such that in some parts of India their title is derived from the Sanskrit term for Cowthief. Even though philology may not support this derivation, it has the authority of their almost universal reputation. They are not now found south of the Vindhya, where those returned as Gūjar are traders from Gujarat, who, as stated above, retain traditions of a cognate origin. It is held, indeed, that a Gurjara element underlies all the chief cultivating classes of Gujarat above those traceable to a distinctly Kōl origin. Returning to the Panjāb, the south of the Salt range tract is the present home of the Avān, who have been there for at least 600 years. They are said to have come up from Marvad or upper Sindh, and to have belonged to one of the numerous Scythic bands which gave the Jāt and other castes to the country further east. Though the Avān are nearly all Muslim, they retain Brāhmanic names in their genealogies, and use Brāhmans as their family priests. They have not spread beyond the north-west corner of the Panjab, where they share with the Janjhua Rājput and the Khokhar the predominant position among the peasantry. The Khokhar, however, though equally of the faith of Islām, have maintained more fully the tradition of Rājput origin, and return themselves in considerable numbers as a clan of that great caste. Others, again, claim to be Jāt. The Gakkhar in the north of the Salt Range plateau are similarly situated to the Avān in the south. There seems to be little doubt but that the three tribes are all of allied Scythic origin, and became Rājput during the Brahmanic revival, Jāt when the Sikhs rose to power, and claimants to Mughal blood now that the influence of Islam reigns supreme in this region. Among the tribes belonging traditionally to this part of India may be counted the Kāthi, though in the present day they are found under this title only in the western peninsula to which they have given their name, and even there in but small numbers. In the Panjab they consider themselves a subclan of the Panvar Rājput, and are thus merged in the general mass of that order. In Kāthiawād they preserve the tradition of migration from Bikaner and Mūltan, the latter being the very tract in which they were

found by Alexander as a foreign nomadic body, successfully resisting the expeditions sent against them by neighbouring Āryan potentates. It is conjectured, therefore, that these, too, are Scythic tribes connected with the rulers of Taxila at that period, and were driven into exile through Sindh into Kach by the Muslim invasions. They are now principally cultivators, but keep green the remembrance of their original occupation of cowherds by breeding horses and cattle. They also retain their ancestral sun-worship, and a rude representation of that luminary is affixed to all their formal documents. It is not improbable that they are of the same stock as the Ahir or Abhīra, the great cattle-breeders of upper India, though their position is now higher than that of the latter. In Sindh, two Rājput tribes of agriculturists, the Sūmrō and the Sammo, successively occupied the dominant position on the lower Indus from about 750 A. D. to the middle of the 16th century, and now belong to Islām. Their respective numbers are by no means accurately represented in the Census return owing to the wide-spread practice in this province of giving the general title of Sindhi as the name of the tribe or caste, thus placing nearly a quarter of a million of the inhabitants beyond the possibility of identification.

East of the Panjāb, the only caste, beside those already mentioned, which can be described as dominant, is the Tāgā, a community of the upper Jamnā. Its origin is doubtful; though it seems to be generally agreed that it has Brāhman blood; but the prominence of snake-worship amongst Tāgā, together with the division of the caste into the "Score" and Half-Score" sections, indicates considerable admixture of local races. Their degradation from Brāhmanical rank is attributed to their addiction to agriculture, as in the case of the Bābhan of the south-east. More than a third of them are now Muslim. In Bihār, the only dominant caste beyond the Rājput is the Bābhan or Bhūnhār, already mentioned in connection with Brāhmans, which forms but a small proportion of the population. Lower Bengal as above stated, was never colonised by military occupation, and the only caste which may be called dominant is the Kōch of the northern territory bordering upon the Brahmaputra. Their claim to this position rests upon the long existence of the Kōch kingdom of Kāmarūpa, in the Assam valley, and its extension, for a time, into Bengal. The latter portion was separated from the rest towards the end of the 16th century, and succumbed to the Muslim, as did the other shortly afterwards to the Āhom. There are two distinct sections of the population owing to the name of Kōch. West and south of the Brahmaputra it is said to be of Kōl-Kher-vārī origin, and has long been Brāhmanised under the designation of Rājbarsī, which satisfies the aspiration of the local peasantry, as that of Rājput crowns the ambition of the Chieftain or large landowner in other parts of India. In Assam, on the contrary, where the lineage of the local leading families is known, the Kōch is Mongoloidic, or Bodo in origin, and its rank and file are recruited from all the Bodo and Mikir tribes of the valley, who drop their own title on adopting Brāhmanism. Some go further, and pass at once into Rājbarsī, or embrace Islām if their claim be not allowed. The respective numbers of the two are, 2,115,700 Rājbarsī, chiefly in Bengal, and 292,100 Kōch, of the Assam branch. The Āhom of the more eastern portion of the Assam valley, are also a once dominant tribe of agriculturists of Indo-Chinese descent, who will be referred to under the head of Assam Hill tribes. There is one more caste belonging to Bengal which may be here mentioned, to wit the Khaṇḍait of Orissa.

They seem to have been originally a body of local militia enlisted from the Bhuiya, a Kol tribe, and commanded, probably, by officers imported from upper India. Some of the customs of the latter commended themselves to their subordinates, on the strength of which term of flattery, a claim to the caste of Rājput was subsequently advanced. The Khaṇḍait is divided into two sub-castes, one comprising the landholders, probably endowed with estates for military services; the other the peasantry and village watchmen. The former hold a good position and rank next to and but little below the Rājputs, who, as elsewhere in Bengal, have not taken firm root in the soil. A community which once carried its arms not only into Orissa but up to the very walls of Calcutta, without leaving any enduring trace of its passage, is the Marāṭha, the principal landed class in the Dekkan, and the dominant power in Baroda, Gwalior, and practically in Indore and several other states. The origin of the Marāṭha is obscure. Elsewhere in this work it has been stated that recent anthropometrical observations have given rise to the conjecture that there is a Scythic element in the population of the Dekkan beyond that which can be attributed to the dynastic influence of the various Kṣatrapa Chieftains who maintained their power there long after the dissolution of the Hūna sovereignty in Central India. The Brāhmins of upper India, too, have the belief that the Marāṭhā are of Persian descent, and that the Citpāvan Brahmins of the Konkan were their sun-priests, introduced in the 7th century and formally adopted into the local hierarchy. However this may be, there was not improbably some distinction between the masses and the dominant classes based upon race, as in Rājputāna; but it did not obtain prominence until the leading families were welded into a military body by the Bhonslā. Ś'ivaji donned the sacred cord and took the title of Kṣatriya upon his enthronement, and within a generation, his successors made a claim to definite Rājput descent, and were apparently not rebuffed even by the highest of the Rājput Chieftains. The kinship, however, has not been practically acknowledged, possibly because the political atmosphere has changed since the beginning of the 18th century. In the present day there is no definite line drawn between the Marāṭha and the Kunbī, or cultivating peasantry, though the leading clans of the former still enjoy special consideration. Recruitment admittedly takes place from below, and any Kunbī who prospers above his neighbours, renounces widow-marriage, secludes the women of his family, marries his daughters at an early age and within a narrow circle, and puts on the sacred thread for special occasions, becomes in due course a Marāṭha in title, with hyper-gamous tendencies not always ignored by the older families. Both Marāṭhā and Kunbī are distinguished by the totemistic, not Brahmanic, character of their exogamous subdivisions, and by their worship of the same local deities, so that, like the Jāt, the upper classes may have assumed a distinct position without imposing the impassable barrier which exists in the north between the Rājput and the rest. Amongst the Marāṭhas as a whole the only barrier of that nature is geographical, a Dekkanī not intermarrying with a family in the Konkan, in spite of the identity of language. The climate, which entails a difference of cultivation and consequently of diet, has affected the physique, and the broad-acred grower of millet disowns the tiller of the petty rice-patch.

§ 34. The Dravidian country remains to be considered. In the greater part of this tract the military and dominant element in the landed classes

is insignificant. In the Karnatic, indeed, it is scarcely to be found, and in Telingana, too, the position of a special subdivision is often found to rest upon the military recruitment of a former dynasty. The Rāzu, who were settled in the extreme south of the Telugu country by the Vijayanagar Chiefs, for whom they fought, seem to have the best claim to the distinction in question. They are undoubtedly superior to their neighbours in physique, and are more scrupulous as to ceremonial. They wear the sacred thread, seclude their women and employ Brahmans as their family priests. It is not improbable, therefore, that they are the remnants of a body of mercenaries from further north, and really differ in race from the Dravidians with whom they are now permanently associated. The Velama of the north Coromandel coast are an offshoot of the great Kāpu or Reddi caste and closely connected with other agricultural bodies of the neighbourhood. They have amongst them, however, several wealthy and influential Zamīndārs, or landed proprietors, and having adopted Brāhmanical regulations more strictly than the rest, are generally considered to hold a somewhat higher position. In the Tamil country, especially in the south, the line of demarcation between the military castes and the others is more easily traced than amongst the Telugu masses, but there seems to be this noteworthy difference between the two regions, that the immigrant peasantry of the south rank higher in the present day than the castes once dominant, so that, setting aside the Chieftains and Zamīndārs, there is the tendency for a landowner of the latter, as he advances in prosperity, to get merged in the ranks of the former. The popular version of this inclination runs: "The Kaḷḷan became a Maṛavan; the Maṛavan became an Agamuḍaiyān, and the Agamuḍaiyān is now a Vellāḷan". The explanation seems to be that the formerly dominant classes obtained their position by predatory, rather than military, prowess under the weak governments of the past, and retained with their independence their original religion and customs. In the piping times of the *pax Britannica*, however, Brahmanic influence is permeating the masses, and as its ceremonial is the touchstone of respectability, the more aspiring remnants of the earlier civilisation affiliate themselves to a body already in full touch with the refinement aimed at, in preference to taking up the invidious position of innovator in the community of their birth. The principal tribe coming under this head is the Kaḷḷan, which happens to be the Tamil for thief. It is probable that the original meaning was different, but no alternative has been found, and the interpretation is unfortunately justified by the history and habits of the caste. It is conjectured that the Kallan are an offshoot of the great Kuṛumban, or cowerd race of the south, which spread downwards from the uplands of Mysore, and were ousted from the plains successively by the Cēra and the Cōla dynasties. Some of the tribe expelled in their turn, the peasantry introduced by the latter, and settled on their lands. The reputation thus acquired helped to keep the Kaḷḷan in independence, and enabled them to maintain to this day their old customs untainted by Brāhmanism in their essential features. The acknowledged head of their tribe is the Rāja of Pūḍūkottai, called by them the Toṇḍamān, in memory of their former colonisation of Toṇḍamaṇḍalam or the Pallava country. The bulk of them are cultivators and labourers; but they still furnish a strong contingent of watchmen, a duty which serves them as the pretext for the levy of a prophylactic subsidy from the householders thus subjected to their protection. Their neighbours to the south, the



Maravan, are amongst the earliest inhabitants of this tract, and at one time got possession of the whole of the Pandya or Madura domain. They furnished a strong body of militia, and for many generations lorded it over the rest of the population. There is some connection, at present unascertained, between them and the Kallan. Like the latter they worship their own gods and demons, and employ for the purpose priests drawn from the lower castes, but for ceremonial other than that of the temple, they call in Brahmans. Their head is the Zamindar of Ramnād, to whom the Tondaman and other local magnates do obeisance when they meet. The Agamudaiyan again, are closely connected with the Maravan, with whom they intermarry under rules which in the Brahmanic system would imply hypergamy in favour of the latter. Nevertheless, the Agamudaiyān is the only caste of the three which has been substantially Brahmanised, and in many ways it comes near the Vellālan in practices and beliefs.

Crossing the Peninsula, a distinctly dominant class is found in the Nāyar of the Malabar coast, a community of northern race, with uncertain traditions as to its original home or the route by which it reached its present secluded domicile. It has its own peculiar customs and institutions, which, as in the case of the Rajputs, have been assimilated by indigenous castes of lower rank, who thereby justify the arrogation to themselves of the title of their superiors. The community, therefore, no longer consists of military landowners, as formerly, but includes, under subdivisional names, not only artisans and traders, but even menial castes such as the barber and washerman, who have found it worth while to devote their services exclusively to the Nāyar. It is probable, then, that not more than three fourths of those returned under the latter title are true Nāyar, and that these belong to at most three subdivisions of the tribe. The customs of the Nāyar are, as observed above, peculiar, and of high ethnological interest, but it is not within the scope of this review to enter into them. It may be remarked in passing, however, that in many of them may be found traces of polyandry. Inheritance is through the female. The exogamous unit is based on descent from a common female ancestor in that line. The endogamous limit is hypergamous for the female, and either within or below the subcaste for the male. The Nāyar of the north and those of the south form separate communities, the division being evidently based upon the notion that pollution lies in the south, perhaps because that region is further from the caste-cradle. The distinction between the two is so strictly enforced that though Nayar males may circulate freely over the whole country, no female of the northern section may cross the river which divides Kanara from Malabar, nor, again, that which intersects the latter district. This group is completed by the addition of the Koḍagu, or dominant tribe of the little district of Coorg, not by reason of its numbers, but, like the Kathi, because it has had a history, and has managed to maintain its position and language in its native uplands against all comers. Since the tract has been opened up by European enterprise, for the growth of special products, there has been a considerable influx of labour from Mysore and the coast, and the Koḍagu now constitutes but a fourth of the population; but that fraction is at the top.

§ 35. **Peasants** (36,251,100): In nearly every part of India this group is the largest, and, together with those of the landless labourer and the village menials, includes the bulk of the rural population. The exceptional tracts are Rajputana and the Panjab, in which, as pointed out in the



preceding paragraph, the military tribes have retained their grip on the land. In accordance with the general scheme of exposition, it is proposed to subdivide this group here into the cultivating castes, in the wider sense of the term, and those who devote their efforts to the growth of special products, such as the bitel-vine, or to roots and vegetables and other market-garden produce. Of the latter some are conventionally impure, such as onions, turmeric and turnips, or necessitate the destruction of life or extensive and intimate dealings with manure, both repugnant to Brahmanical tradition, in consideration of which the castes thus engaged have been relegated to a lower social position than the field operator.

In the Panjāb castes of this class are numerous, and in the plains of that Province there are but two others, outside the ranks of the dominant, which call for mention here. The Kambō, one of the most skilful cultivators of the province, is found along the Satlaj and in the east, where he has crossed over the Jamna into Rohilkhand. The caste is of local or Kashmīrī origin, though the Muslim minority in it claim to be Mughal. It is probably connected with the great gardening caste of the Arāin, but its position is higher. One of its sections has taken to trade and the clerical professions, in which, however, they are said to be more skilful than honest. The Mēō, or Mēvāti, is the dominant caste of a portion of eastern Rājputāna and a small tract in the south Panjāb. It is no doubt a branch of the forest tribe of the Minā, but having become Muslim and acquired land, it has set up for itself. Formerly it gave much trouble from its unruly habits, but since its larger settlements were broken up into detached villages it has sobered down. Islām sits very lightly upon the Mēō, and he observes the Brāhmanic festivals impartially with those of his own creed, ignoring the fasts of both. He continues to worship his old village gods and to employ Brāhmans as his priests, but in these respects he does not differ from the bulk of his fellow converts in the neighbourhood. In the sub-Himālayan parts of the Panjāb and the outer ranges there are a few interesting agricultural tribes on the borderland never occupied by the Jāt and the hill country of the Rājputs, never occupied by the Muslim. Some of these, the Thākar, Rāthī and Rāut, are undoubtedly related to some of the Rājput clans on the one side, but are merged into the lower Hill tribes, on the other. It is open to question, for instance, whether the Thākar is a low Rājput or a high Rāthī, and whether the latter is not a somewhat elevated Kanait. The Rāut, who is located nearer the plains than the rest, occupies a lower rank, and though recognised as a connection of the Candēl Rājput, is more often associated with the Kanait. The latter and the Ghirath are the chief cultivating classes of these hills. The Ghirath is found principally in the Kāngra valley, and is noted for growing rice wherever the land is sufficiently depressed to allow of the collection of sufficient water for the purpose. The caste is so subdivided that the saying goes that there are 360 sorts of rice and the same number of Ghirath clans. They are inferior in physique and mode of life to the cultivators of the higher valleys, and though they may have a tinge of Rājput blood, imparted by refugees from the plains, they are mainly of the specific hill type which prevails from the Indus to Sikkim. The Kanait are a more distinctive community of this race, and whilst one of their two main subdivisions has become more Brāhmanised than the other, and pretends to be the progeny of Rājputs by Hill women, there seems reason to think that they belong to a very early wave of

northern immigration, possibly Aryan, but not of the Vedic branch, which has received an infusion of other northern blood since its settlement in the Himalaya. They are now the tenants and labourers of the Rajput landowners. Further to the east, however, their relatives, the Khāsiya of Kumaun and Garhvāl, escaped Rajput overlordship, and themselves subdued a lower and more primitive tribe, probably the Dom. Owing to the fact that their territory contains the two celebrated shrines of Kedarnath and Badarinath, at the reputed sources of the Ganges, the Khāsiya have long been thoroughly Brahmanised, though the transition from a lower to a higher grade is more easily achieved than in the plains, and is here the result of the acquisition of wealth, not, as in the Panjāb Hills, of royal favour. The Khāsiya do not figure separately in the returns, as they are all included under the general head of Rājput, but their number is not far short of half a million. The community which goes by a somewhat similar name in Nepāl is distinct, and of admittedly mixed origin, Brahmanic and Mongoloidic Himālayan.

In the Gangetic Doāb, Oudh and Bihār, the great peasant castes are more or less connected with each other by origin, but in so fertile a tract, well provided with large towns, the occupation of market gardening has diverted an unusually large number of subdivisions from field work. Of those who have clung to the elder branch of the profession, the Kurmi is the most widely spread, especially along the Ganges and to the south thereof. The title corresponds to that of Kunbi, used in the Dekkan and western India. The derivation is uncertain, and though the word is found in the form of Kuṭumbika in some early inscriptions, this is probably only the Sanskritised version of some older name, such as that of Kul, a Dravidian name for a cultivating landholder, in which sense it is still used, and not only in the Dravidian country. The Kurmi is by no means a homogeneous body, and is not only much subdivided in the tracts where it is apparently of one race, but is used on the borders of the Central Belt as a sort of occupational title for those of the Kol tribes who have been long settled as cultivators and have thereby thriven beyond their ancestors. Closely allied with the Kurmi by origin, though now entirely distinct, are the Koēri. They rank below the former, who will drink, but not eat or intermarry with them, possibly because the Koēri have succumbed to the lucrative attractions of special cultivation, such as that of tobacco, the poppy and even vegetables. The Kisān, again, belong to the same stock, but like the Koēri, have long been formed into a separate caste, and are even more exclusive in their intercourse with outsiders. There is another community of the same name, though sometimes called Nagesia, who have been combined with these in the Census return. They inhabit parts of Chutia Nagpur and the Central Provinces, and are of the Kol race. The Lodha is a caste of inferior position and probably of earlier settlement than the Kurmi, from whom it differs in both physique and habits. The Lodha are specially addicted to the cultivation of rice, and are found nearly all over the Upper Provinces and a little way into Bihar. But the section which inhabits Bundelkhand and its neighbourhood is probably nearer the original stock, assuming the latter to belong to the Central Belt, and takes a lower place in society accordingly. The cultivating classes of the Central Provinces are those of the Dekkan in the west, and of the south Ganges-valley in the north, with a large substratum of the more civilised forest tribes in most parts. In the Chattisgarh districts, the

Kavar is probably an offshoot of the last named group, though the fertility of the country has enabled it materially to improve its position. This caste, as well as the Kirār, claims Rājput origin, and there is some ground for believing that the tribal ancestors belonged to some military clan which settled in the hills, and thus lagged behind the rest in Brahmanisation. The Kirār are admitted to be Rājputs of a low class in the Jamna valley, but are repudiated by the Rājputs of Central India and the Narbada valley. On the Orissa border, the Kolta are in occupation of the best lands and prosper accordingly. As they found it necessary to spread, their keen scent for the best settlements brought them into conflict with the wilder tribes, but they held on to what they had got. In the Assam Valley, as in the Central Provinces, the foundation of the population is a more or less Brāhmanised community of the local stock, Kol-Dravidian in the one case, Mongoloidic in the other. In the preceding paragraph the Koch has been mentioned as the prevailing caste in the western portion of the old Kamarūpa territory. Less numerous but of higher position in the present day are the Kalita, an immigrant caste, or more correctly, tribe, for they probably entered the valley before the caste system had been fully developed in Bengal. Though the Kalita are mainly husbandmen, they do not constitute a caste in the strict sense of the term, for they exercise all the crafts and occupations which are elsewhere relegated to endogamous functional bodies. The usual tendency to specialise, however, is not absent, and subdivisions are being formed upon the normal lines. Kalitā, too, is becoming, like Kōch, a designation of social rank, and lower communities are assuming it, either by absorption or as distinct units. Outside the ranks of the forest tribes, the only other agricultural community which need be mentioned here, is the Halvai-Das, of the southern or Bengal valleys. This, in Bengal, is accounted a subcaste of the great Kaibartta community, but in Sylhet, and in such parts of the Brahmaputra valley as it has reached, it has succeeded where in Bengal it failed, in establishing itself as a separate caste of higher position than the body from which it rose. Its prosperity has brought it, as is not uncommon, a superior marriage field, and girls of the Kāyasth and Vaidya castes are given, albeit under protest from outside, to well-to-do Halvai-Das. Next generation will possibly see a still further advance sanctioned by the somewhat fluid public opinion of the two Provinces concerned.

The enormous population of Bengal furnishes, as is to be expected, a good number of large cultivating bodies, many of them, as was above pointed out, nourishing claims and aspirations which would be futile in an older Brahmanic society. The most populous of all, the Kaibartta, accounts its agricultural sections far above those which fish, and has framed its subdivisions accordingly. It is doubtful which occupation is the earlier amongst them, but from their appearance, it is surmised that they are immigrants who spread over the Delta, from the country round Midnapur and took to fishing for a livelihood as their numbers increased. Some of the larger landed proprietors are said to have become Rājputs. In Orissa, some became Khandaits, whilst the Casa, one of the principal sections, has invented the name Mahiṣya for itself, to which its claim has been acrimoniously disputed. The Sadgop is most numerous represented in and about the same tract as that which the Kaibartta regard as their early home. It is supposed to have abandoned cowherding, as the Kaibartta

abandoned fishing, in favour of agriculture. The more prosperous Sadgop are said to be dropping the plough and employing labour on their land, thus paving the way for a higher endogamous subdivision. The caste stands higher in rank than the Kaibartta, owing probably to the superior purity of their traditional occupation. Like other Bengal agriculturists, they are sometimes called *Casa*, a general term, like that of Kurmi or Kunbi. There is, however, a caste in Orissa to which the name of *Casa* is specially applied. It is of Kol or Dravidian origin, and whilst admitting members of other castes to its lower ranks, passes in the upper into that of Karan or Mahant, mentioned above as the legal writer caste, on the way to establishing touch with the Kayasth. The Gaṅgauta is a small but respectable caste of north Bihar, much the same in position as the Kurmi, but ranking below them, and more lax in their diet. Round Calcutta is found the fishing and cultivating caste of the Pōd, lower than those above mentioned. Like the rest, however, it has its lower and upper endogamous subdivisions, the latter of which put in their claim to Kṣatriya lineage. Most of the caste are cultivators, but some have acquired considerable estates, whilst others have taken to trade and handicrafts. It appears to be considered to be of Deltaic origin, like the Caṇḍal, as the Brāhmins who minister to it are avoided by their fellows, but those who only act as teachers remain unpolluted. The Caṇḍal or Nāmaśūdra, is the largest caste in eastern Bengal, and, as its name suggests, stands very low in the social scale. It is much subdivided, and eight of its main subdivisions are functional, and never eat and seldom intermarry with each other. The agricultural section stands out from the rest in rank, and next to it comes the boating division. Fishing, however, except for the domestic larder, is strictly prohibited. The Nāmaśūdra employ a special class of degraded Brāhman of its own, and its barbers and washermen are also members of the caste. The Census was made the occasion of an attempted severance of the caste into Śūdra, the superior body, and Nāma, the Bengali for "low", to include the rest. It failed.

§ 36. In the Dekkan and adjoining tracts, the one great cultivating caste is the Kunbi, which has been already treated of in connection with the Marāṭhā. Like every caste spread over a wide area it is much subdivided, but its position and general constitution are fairly uniform. The corresponding caste in Gujarat, which has been included under the general title, calls itself Kaṇbi, and is distinct from the Dekkan in origin, and custom as in language. Along with the tradition of early immigration from the north, it has many points of resemblance with the Gūjar of the Panjab. The Kaṇbi is almost entirely agricultural, and is in occupation of the most fertile tracts of Gujarat, with the reputation of making the most of them. The only alternative occupation generally recognised is silk-weaving, to which one of the subdivisions is devoted. A branch of the Kaṇbi is settled in the north Dekkan, an ancient domain of the Ahir, or cattle-breeders. Here the caste is known by its old name of Gūjar, but its subdivisions are those of the modern caste of the coast. The Khadya Kaṇbi, one of the main subdivisions, has the custom locally peculiar to itself and the Bharvaḍ shepherd, of celebrating its marriages only once every ten or eleven years, according to the vaticinations of their chief sacerdotal advisers. Naturally, so rare an opportunity has to be seized irrespective of the ages of the children, so that not only are infants in arms duly betrothed, but women in the family way join in perambulating



the nuptial altar, on the understanding that their future offspring, if sex permit, are thereby made man and wife. As to the relative number of the Marāṭhi and the Gujarāṭi sections of this caste, there are probably about 2,700,000 of the former, and 1,350,000 of the latter. The Kōlī in its various subdivisions is probably an early dark race extruded from the plains by the Kaṇbī, so far as it is found in the west. Under the same name, it is found from the Panjāb Hīmalāya to the Sahyādri Ghāṭs, not to mention the Kōl of the Central Belt. In the first named tract Kōlī is a general term for the menial classes, amongst whom most of the artisans are included. In Gujarāt there is a coast Kōlī, generally a boatman or fisher, and a large landed class, chiefly in the north of the province, called either Talabḍā, the Locals, or Dhārālā, the arm-bearers. Some of its clans intermarry with the lower Rajputs, whose rules of exogamy they have adopted. In or near the hill country the Kōlī approximates to the Bhīl, though perhaps more settled in habit. On the Sahyādri, however, their reputation is lower, and the Malhāri branch are apparently the descendants of a wild tribe of the south western Belt, driven westwards by the advancing Muslim or by colonists from Telingāna.

In the Dravidian country, the castes are remarkably well demarcated by the linguistic divisions, and whilst there are considerable colonies of the northerners in the Tamil country, the reverse movement appears to have been very trifling. In the Karnatic tableland, the cultivating castes are found under a few general headings, such as Vakkaliga and Liṅgāyat, the former in Mysore, the others further north and east. Under the Liṅgāyat or Liṅvant, system, caste is supposed to be merged in the general title, and though this rule was followed to a great extent at the Census, in practice, caste is recognised almost as fully as amongst the orthodox Brāhmanists. The community, as a whole, falls under three heads; the original converts of Basava, with a few later additions; the functional group, and, lastly, the impure castes of village menials. Each section has an amazing number of subdivisions, since nearly every one of the local Brāhmanic castes has its Liṅvant subdivision, endogamous and distinct. The general tendency in the present day is to assimilate the Brāhmanic organisation under the Jaṅgam, though occasionally the upper classes introduce Brāhmins as priests. There has been a movement, indeed, to get the whole community recorded as Virśaiv, subdivided into the mythical four Varṇa of the Puruṣa-Sūkta. Irrespective of the latter refinement, the first suggestion refers to a time anterior to the founder of the sect, and in supersession of the usage of centuries. There are a few Liṅgāyats in the Telugu districts, but the movement on the whole is almost exclusively Kanarese in its extent. The Vakkaliga of Mysore correspond to the Kaṇbī of Gujarāt in being subdivided under a general name meaning simply cultivators. Each of the subdivisions is really a separate endogamous caste. The principal ones are the Gaṅgaḍikāra, the Noṇaba and the Sāda, the second of which is mostly Liṅgāyat, and the third, Jain. There are other sections either functional, like Hālu, the cowherds, or geographical, denoting immigration. Most of them have totemistic exogamous subsections. The Pañcama and Caturtha Jains and the Liṅgāyats mostly employ their own priests, but the rest are orthodox in their relations with the Brāhman. On the coast of Kanara the land is held to a great extent by Havika or Haiga Brāhmins, who cultivate the bitel-palm largely through predial low castes. There are also many



cultivators belonging to the fishing and toddy-drawing classes. The chief caste that can be termed specially agricultural, is the Banta, or warrior, formerly the rank and file of the militia of the Tulu Chiefs. They have a Jain subdivision which keeps to itself. The rest observe some of the Nayar or Malabar customs as to inheritance, and have marriage rules of their own, which have the effect, it is said, of making the tie "as loose as it can be". Their neighbours, the Gauda, are probably settlers from above the Ghats, where that term is honorifically used of the headmen of a village. Further east, in south Orissa, the caste bearing the same name derives it, apparently correctly, from the Sanskrit for cow, as they are of a pastoral character, with traditions of immigration from the north.

The principal agricultural castes of Telingāna are the Kapu, the Kamma and the Telaga, all of which much resemble each other and come probably from the same stock. The Kāpu or Redḍi, are widely spread, though less so than formerly. They are reputed to have more than 800 subdivisions, which eat together but do not intermarry. Each subdivision is in turn split into endogamous sections. Some of the caste own large estates, earned by military service under the Muslim conquerors of the 14th century, and all are connected in some way or other with the land. The Kamma, like the Kāpu, are often found in colonies in the south far beyond the Telugu country. The Telaga were once a military caste, and were till recently recruited for the native regiments of the British army, but now they are cultivators of a moderately high position, and only differ from their neighbours in being somewhat more fully Brāhmanised. The actual numbers are less than the figure returned owing to the use of their title by other and probably lower castes out of their native district. The Kaliṅgi are both cultivators and temple-ministrants on the Telugu seaboard, with the tradition that they were imported from the north for the latter purpose before Brāhmins had reached Andhra territory. They wear, consequently, the sacred thread, but are not recognised by Brāhmins as of that order. The rest of the Kaliṅgi employ their own priests. They are divided, like the Nayar, into two geographical sections with quite different customs. A third has had to be formed for the reception of the people expelled from the two others. Their practice is Brahmanic but their exogamous divisions totemistic. The Tottīyan are the descendants of a military body like the Telaga. They were introduced into the Tamil country, where they are now settled, by the Vijayanagara Chiefs. As their second title is Kambalattan, probably referring to woollen blankets, and their subdivisional titles being also those of a pastoral character, it may be inferred that their original occupation was that of shepherds. Locally they are much dreaded for their magical powers, but in compensation, their cures and charms for snake-bite bear a high reputation. The name Veḷḷaḷan, in the Tamil country, corresponds in its generality with that Kunbi or Casa in other parts of India, and merely implies a cultivator. The wide diffusion of the community so called prevents it from being a caste, in the sense of a homogeneous body, as irrespective of the four great geographical sections, over 900 subdivisions were recorded at the census. By careful filtration, the number was substantially diminished; nevertheless, the residue is very large, and owing to the accretions from lower castes as they rise in the world, it is constantly increasing. It is unnecessary to point out that in such circumstances the endogamous sections are many and minute. Of the main divisions, that

called the *Tonḍamaṇḍalam*, of the old Pallava kingdom, round Arcot, stands highest. It settled in its present location in the 8th century A. D., and is strictly Brāhmanistic in customs and religion. The *Koṅḡu*, on the other hand, who are found in and about Coimbatore, are so far below the rest that none of the other subdivisions will eat with them, and they are sometimes considered a separate caste, under the name of *Kavaṇḍan*. Apparently, too, their marriage regulations have not passed away from the old Dravidian type, and Brahmins are not employed, as they are amongst all the other *Vellālan* bodies. In the Malayalam tract, below the *Nāyar*, *Māppila* and *Nambūtiri* Brahman, the cultivating castes belong to bodies having other traditional callings, or are field labourers who have occasionally got hold of a small estate. They will be found, therefore, under their respective headings in later paragraphs.

§ 37. **Specialised cultivators** (5,968,700). The majority of the castes coming into this category are branches of the great agricultural bodies, separated from them, as stated above, in view of the inferiority in rural esteem of the produce they cultivate as compared with cereals and other crops grown on a large scale. Thus, the *Arain* are of the same stock as the *Kambō*; the *Māli*, *Kāchi* and *Murāo*, are all derived from the *Kurmī*, and the *Saiṇī* belongs to the *Māli*. In contradistinction to the growth of roots and vegetables, the care of the bitel-vine has no disgrace attached to it. This may be partly due to the use of vegetable manure only, and partly, no doubt, to the consideration that the presentation of a little packet of the leaf with areca nut is an important formality in social intercourse. In the greater part of India the bitel-vine is grown by a special caste called *Barāi*, *Bāruī* or *Bārī*. The last title, however, is only used south of the *Vindhya*, and in the north is applied to a lower caste of different occupation. Apart from linguistic distinctions, the *Barāi* is much subdivided into endogamous sections, and most of them hold a good position in society. In the Dekkan and Karnatic there is a small caste of Brāhmins, the *Tirgūl*, who have taken to growing the bitel-vine, and the *Bārī* are said to be immigrant from Central India. In the Tamil country, the *Sēṇaikkūḷaiyān* do what most of the *Barāi* avoid, that is, sell the leaves themselves, instead of making them over to another caste for the market. This caste has the further peculiarity of belonging to the Left-hand in the local distribution, thereby grouping itself with the artisans, a position which does not, however, militate against its respectability, or prevent the Brāhman from sharing with *Vellālan* the priestly ministrations required in the caste. The *Koḷikkāl*, another bitel-vine growing caste is only a subdivision of the *Vellālan*, based, apparently, upon its occupation. As the areca-palm only flourishes in certain localities, its cultivation is undertaken by the ordinary agricultural classes. Reverting to the market gardener, the *Arāin* of the Panjāb is a true caste in the north and east of the Province, but in the west the title is purely occupational, like *Jāt* in the same tract. The community seems to have come up the Indus from *Mūltān* or north-west Rajputāna, and settled along the Ghaggar river, then probably of an irrigational capacity it has long since lost. Thence they spread across the *Jamnā* into Rohilkhand, and northwards into Jalandhar, which is still one of their principal seats. Here they are not only gardeners but general cultivators of considerable reputation for skill and industry. They are, as stated above, akin to the higher caste of the *Kambō*, but with a far greater inclination to accept Islām. The

Māliar of the north-west, who are entirely Muslim, are lower in position than the Arām, though they appear from the names of their subdivisions to be a branch of that caste. The Māli get their name from the garlands it was their mission to prepare for the decoration of the temple deities and to throw round the necks of honoured guests at social ceremonies. They have long branched out into all kinds of garden cultivation, and their numerous subdivisions are frequently based upon the produce to which they are respectively devoted. Those who grow flowers, for instance, do not intermarry with the vegetable-growers, and the latter draw a distinction between themselves and the branch which grows onions, turnips or turmeric. The Kachī has taken in upper India to the poppy and leguminous edibles, leaving roots to his poorer relative the Murāō, who is said to take his name from the radishes he grows. Some sections of the Kachī, again, abstain from cultivating the sugarcane or chillies. The Sainī, another branch of the Māli, are found in the east Panjāb and in Rohilkhand, where they are as much general cultivators as gardeners. In the former tract a good many of them are Sikhs, but the more prosperous claim Rājput blood. They stand high in their calling and seem to be living down the taint of the garden. In the Peninsula, south of the sphere of the Māli, the only specialised cultivator in addition to those already mentioned, is the Tigāḷa, now located in Mysore and the south Dekkan. This seems to be one of the few castes which have moved northwards from the Tamil country, but they have retained neither the customs nor language of their origin.

§ 38. **Cattle-breeders** (11,965,500. These are taken next to the agriculturists because they occupy a very similar social position, and also because, with the expansion of tillage, the grazing area is getting restricted and a good many of the formerly roving castes have settled down to cultivation. The prominent place assigned to cattle in the Sūktas and the universal veneration of the Brahmanic community for the cow bear testimony to the antiquity as to the honourable character of the calling, and in upper India the cattle-breeder ranks almost as high as the cultivator. This is not invariably the case, however. The wandering life arouses suspicions of unorthodox feeding and intercourse generally. Then, too, the use of the ox in agriculture now vies in importance with that of the cow in domestic life; but the supply of the indispensable bullock cannot be kept up without surgical operations repugnant to the conventional notions of purity and respect for animal life. Furthermore, the supply of milk for the home is, by all Vedic tradition, commendable, but the sale of dairy produce as a trade entails relegation to a lower position. In old times, however, the Abhīra, or cowherding tribes, were powerful in the Sātpura, the south Ganges valley and even the lower portions of Nepāl, and founded dynasties which were overthrown by the Gōṇḍ in the first-named tract and by the Kirāta in the last. The leading tribes seem to have been of western origin, and are supposed to have entered India long after the Vedic Ārya. In upper India they go by the name of Ahīr, derived from the Abhīra just mentioned, a term which was applied by some Sanskrit authors to all tribes of the lower classes throughout the north-west. Under this name they are spread in considerable numbers all over Rāputana, Malva, the south-eastern Panjāb, the upper Gangetic valley and Bihār. To the east, the lack of wide stretches of open pasture has prevented the formation and maintenance of a strong and well-organised

pastoral community, so a number of distinct and generally not very large subdivisions are grouped under the general title of Goālā, recruited from many local castes of lower origin than the pastoral bodies of the north. Many of them, too, are as much agriculturists as cattle-breeders. The same may be said, also, of the Ahir themselves, in the Panjāb, where they are amongst the most successful and enterprising cultivators of the Province. They have never, it is true, achieved a dominant position anywhere in modern times, but the Jāt and Gūjar treat them as equals, except, of course, in regard to intermarriage. According to the Census, about half the total number of Ahir are found in Agra, Oudh and Bihār. They are said to have migrated to these regions from the plains of Kach, west Rājputāna and Kāthiāvād. Assuming their connection with these parts, especially the last named, a basis will be found for their invariable assertion in the Gangetic region that the cradle of the Ahir is Mathura. Few legends are more wide spread in India than that of the dalliance of the most popular of Purānic deities, Kṛṣṇa, with the Gōpi, or milk-maids, of the Vraj district: and the Jāduvansi line, headed by Kṛṣṇa himself, found its second home, after its expulsion from Mathura, at Dvārka and in the north of Mārvād, the very tracts inhabited by the Ahir before they entered Hindustān. Traditional descent from the Mathura Jāduvansi is not, however, confined to the Ahir of the north, but is claimed by the Gaura and other cowherds of Orissa, and even by some far to the south of the Ārya pale. Except in the Panjāb, the Ahir enjoys but a poor reputation as a husbandman, though everywhere he is admitted to be company for the higher peasantry. This, however, may be, as in the case of the Gūjar in those parts, a question of policy, with a side-glance towards the village cattle, which are too apt to stray into the Ahir's herd without their rightful owners' knowledge or consent. The Gauli of the west Central Provinces and north Dekkan, is the descendant of the tribes which, as just mentioned, once ruled the Sātpura from Khandesh and the Sahyadri, to near Saugor, and were only expelled by the Goṇḍ in the 16th century. As they are mentioned in the Nāsik cave inscriptions, they must have been long established in their dominion. Alongside of them is the Gōvārī caste, which has no trace of immigration either in nomenclature or tradition. In the Chattisgarh country, to the east, comes the Rāvat, another cattle-breeding caste of long standing in that region. The two last mentioned castes which in 1891 numbered about 350,000 persons, do not appear at all in the returns for 1901, so they have probably been compiled under Ahir or some other general title. Two other cattle-breeding castes of upper India may be mentioned, the Ghōsī, an offshoot of the Ahir, or as some think, of the Gūjar, which has been converted to Islām. They occupy a comparatively low position, and near the large towns confine their attention to the dairy side of their occupation. The other caste is the Rabārī of Rājputāna and the Gujarāt peninsulas. They are of Marvād origin, but wandered to the coast, and now breed both cattle and camels, and some of them even become shepherds. In the north they confine their trade to camels. In the Dekkan, the Gauli, and further south, the Golla, represent this industry. In the Tamil country, the cultivator generally breeds his own cattle, and only one caste devoted to this occupation appears in the return. This is the Kannaḍiyan, a small body, of apparently upland origin. The Golla of the Telugu and Kanarese tracts, are thoroughly local castes, but, having become Brāhmanised, cast back to Mathura and



the Gopī. Most of them are settled in villages, but one section, in Mysore, is still nomadic during the open season, and does not intermarry with the others. In Mysore it used to be the duty or privilege of the Golla to guard State treasure in transit, and the official now responsible for sending off the remittances is still occasionally called by that name, albeit he may be a Brāhman or Muslim.

§ 39. **Village artisans and servants.** Handicrafts and mechanical arts have always held a low place in public esteem in India, and to this day, in societies moulded on archaic lines such as those of the lower Hīmalāya, the division between them and agricultural occupations is very marked. An exception is found, as a rule, in the worker in the precious metals, a trade tolerated, if not honoured, even in Vedic times. Throughout the greater part of India the castes of the artisans are graduated according to the material used in the calling.

a. **Combined crafts** (1,263,900). From at least the date of the Mahabharata, five trades, called the Pañcākālśī, stand out from the rest, and are usually grouped together. The goldsmith comes first, except in Bengal. Then comes the brass and coppersmith and next the carpenter or other worker in wood. The blacksmith follows in a lower place, partly, no doubt, because his is a dirty calling, partly because he has to use bellows made of oxhide, and partly, again, because the metal in which he works is black, the unlucky colour. In the Gangetic valley, too, there may be some association between the village and the nomad blacksmith, who is probably of Kol origin and shares the reputation of the gipsy tinker and farrier of Europe. The fifth place in this hierarchy belongs to the stone-worker, which, except in the south, is a more modern and probably a purely functional body. The above castes are not always strictly separated in occupation: sometimes the carpenter becomes a blacksmith, and the masonry, like bricklaying is done by an outsider: the latter being held to verge upon the task of the potter, which is impure. In the Dravidian country the five are found merged in a single group, called the Kammāḷan in Tamil, Kāmśāla in Telugu, and Pañcāḷa in the Karnatic. The occupations then fall into subdivisions. This cohesion seems to have been promoted, if not initiated, by sectarian influence. It appears that in this part of India the artisans used formerly to be excluded from the main village site, and forced, like the leather-workers and scavengers, to live in hamlets of their own, detached from the rest of the community. As their work grew in importance, their origin, which was probably amongst the servile classes, tended to be forgotten or ignored, and they were admitted within the walls, and allowed certain privileges in the way of social display which had before been reserved for the higher classes. Then followed the great Southern schism of the Right and the Left-handed castes, in which the artisans arrayed themselves en masse against the Brahmans and few others. It is now generally held that this movement arose out of the levelling doctrines of the Buddhists or Jains of the south, which had been largely adopted by the lower classes; but whether the artisans, thus encouraged, led a revolt against Brahmanical authority, or whether, on the decline of Buddhism, the Brahmans took this means of setting the schismatics back into their place, is not certain. In the present day, the differences between the two factions, which are acrimonious and often turbulent, arise, not out of doctrinal questions, but on points of what may be termed processional privileges, such as the right to have the marriage-escort preceded by drums



and trumpets, to have a mounted convoy in attendance, to carry certain emblems of a quasi-religious signification; above all, to exceed a conventional maximum number of pillars to the marriage-booth. Castes whose technical skill and circumstances have raised them far above the class from which they sprang have often shown the tendency, as stated in an earlier section, to embrace a new scheme of reform which combines religious doctrine with the weakening of the barriers which prevent their equivalent rise in social position, and in this case the democratic teachings of Jainism and Buddhism had the further backing of the propaganda of Basava in the north Karnatic, with the result that most of the Pāṇcāla became Liṅgāyat and, therefore, anti-Brahmanist. None of the Five group-sections employs Brāhmans or acknowledges the authority of that order, and all ceremonies are performed by priests of their own body. For some time past the Pāṇckalsī have claimed descent from Viśvakarman, the Hephaestus of the Brāhmanic pantheon, and call themselves Viśva Brāhmans, assuming all the attributes of the sacerdotal order. In this respect the Southerners do not stand alone, since a similar claim is put forward by various artisan castes in other parts of India, especially by the goldsmiths. It is needless to say that whatever title or practice may obtain currency within the community, its sanction by the outside world has to be secured through the Brāhman, who naturally will have none of it. Authorities differ as to the homogeneity of the Pāṇckalsī. By some it is said that the occupations are interchangeable, and that families or individuals pass from one to another without any alteration of social status or loss of right of intermarriage. Others say that in the Tamil country the divisions do not generally intermarry, but that this is not the case in the Telugu country, where all five certainly eat together, and are said to intermarry. The Kanarese branches follow the rules of the Liṅgāyat community. In the Malabar tract the five stand on a different footing, and take a far lower position. They are amongst the impure castes and do not employ their own people as Brāhmans. The Āś'āri, or carpenter, who is the house-builder of the coast, stands above the rest, and at the ceremonies connected with the erection of a building he is allowed to wear the sacred thread. The Taṭṭān (goldsmiths), Kollan (blacksmiths), and Mūs'āri (coppersmiths), intermarry. The stonemason is not an important coast artisan, but above the Sahyādri and in the south, the number of stone temples and images is so large and their use so ancient, that the functions of the stone-worker have always been in great request; so much so, that in some of the inscriptions this craftsman is invested with the title of Ācārya, or teacher, which though the Pāṇckalsī nowadays use it of each other, is not ordinarily conferred on any but religious or literary instructors. In consequence of the use of the general title Kammālan instead of the subdivision, it is impossible to give the numbers of the Pāṇckalsī exercising the respective trades included under it, except for the comparatively limited population of the Malabar coast, and this, irrespective of the peculiar constitution of the community, is a reason for dealing with the latter apart from the corresponding castes of the rest of India. There is, however, in Bengal, a somewhat similar grouping in the case of the Kāmar or metal-working castes. This body apparently started with a variety of functional groups of different origins, and is now welded into a sort of caste, subdivided according to the metal used, and bearing the general title usually given elsewhere to the worker in iron. The legend in which

the Kamar trace their descent from Viśvakarman, indeed, is very much the same as that by which the iron-smelting Asura of the Kol race justify their origin from the same ancestor, thus confirming the general view as to the non-Aryan foundation of the caste. The social gradation of the subdivisions is curious, in that the worker in iron stands first, and intermarries only with the worker in brass, and the bell-metal craftsman stands above the goldsmith. The latter, indeed, under the name of Sekara, or Svarnakar, though he holds himself higher than the wealthy Subarnabapik, mentioned along with the Traders, must have something against him from days of old, as the Brāhmans which serve his subdivision are not in communion with the rest of their order, whilst those who perform similar functions for the rest of the Kāmar are under no such interdiction. The Niyariyā, or Dhuldhoya, is a parasitic caste upon the Sōnar, and lives by extracting the gold out of the refuse of the latter's shop. He is usually allowed to be Sōnār in blood as in occupation, but in the north is often a Muslim, even when the goldsmith is Brāhmanist.

b) **Gold and silver workers** (1,290,500). The goldsmith is very often a pawnbroker and money-lender as well as a manufacturer of the ornaments which constitute the main capital of the peasantry and indeed of most Indian middle classes, and in both capacities has acquired a very indifferent reputation for straight-dealing. According to one popular saying, he so regretted having made a nose-ring for his own mother without sufficiently adulterating the metal that he cut her nose off to recover it. In the Gangetic region the caste, which is subdivided to an astounding extent, is said to be a composite one, but still holds a position superior to that of the other artisans. It is said to be closing up its ranks, too, and forming large endogamous sub-castes out of its numerous minute exogamous sections. In this tract the Sōnār does not seem to be putting forward the same pretensions to be Brāhman that he does further south.

c) **Carpenters** (2,688,100) and d) **Blacksmiths** (2,362,300). It is the Lōhār and Barhai, who refer themselves back to Viśvakarman, and who have a joint sub-caste called Ojhā claiming to be Brāhmans, not apparently without a certain degree of recognition, though not to the full extent of their desire. In the west, the Sutar, or carpenter, throws back to the Gūjar or Vānia, and in the Dekkan, to the inevitable Viśvakarman. The Lohar seems everywhere constant to the latter. There seems to be a general tendency to make these two functions interchangeable even though the castes remain distinct. In the Marāṭhā districts, both above and below the Sahyadri, the Sūtār does the village ironwork, consisting mainly of simple repairs such as retyring cart-wheels or reshoeing the plough and so on. In the western Panjab it is the same. In the east of that Province, the Tarkhaṇ and the Lohār are the same caste by origin, but the carpenter stands higher, and when both occupations are followed, sub-sections are formed which do not eat together or intermarry. There is also a body of Lohar in the south, along the Rājputāna border, consisting of Rājputs who, from stress of circumstances, probably famine, were driven to adopt this means of getting their living, and though called Lohār, are apart from and above the rest. The Khatī, again, is both carpenter and blacksmith in some parts of the north, ranking with the former, but along the Jamna the caste is wheelwright, and considered a subdivision of the Barhai.

e) **Masons** (51,400). The Thāvi of the sub-Himalayan region, is an offshoot of the carpenter, but, as the dwellings in those parts are chiefly

of stone, the caste has developed into masons as well as workers in wood, and in the plains, too, the Rāj, when the title is not merely functional, is a carpenter turned mason. The large caste of the Sutradhār in Bengal, is of local origin, probably akin to the Kaibartta, but is now much subdivided into functional groups taking rank a good deal according to the nature of their work, such as boat-building (one of the lowest), wheelwright, builder, turner and painter, all independent of each other. Some have established a body of priests of their own. The barber, whose function is one of the touchstones of rank, considers them high enough to be shaved by him, but will not undertake their pedicure. This discrimination between the different branches of the craft is found elsewhere. The carpenter who undertakes the repair of municipal conservancy carts, for example, has, for an obvious reason, to sacrifice his position; and the making of oil-presses and, as just mentioned, boat-building, is considered degrading, owing, probably, to the indirect connection of these articles with the destruction of life. Both carpenter and blacksmith belong to the class of village artisans remunerated by customary shares in the year's harvest. During the cultivating season, therefore, they are bound to devote their time to the needs of their clients, but during the rest of the year they make carts, bedsteads, irrigation-wheels, and other articles which are charged for in the ordinary way, at a price either cash or kind, more usually the latter. The workers in brass and copper appear among the Pāṅckalsī, and can claim considerable antiquity, but they are urban rather than village castes, and are rarely found, except casually, in any place smaller than the local market town. At the same time, their occupation enters largely into village life, since there is no more distinctive mark of the prosperity of a tract than the substitution of metal vessels, especially of the larger sorts, for the porous earthenware which was formerly in universal use. Once established, the demand for the former is extensive, as each family requires its own complete set, to obviate the risk of contamination by contact with other castes.

f) **Brass and copper workers** (206,800). The manufacture and provision of these articles are in the hands of the Kasēra and Thaṭhēra castes in upper India, and in those of the cognate bodies called Kāsār, Kansārā and Tāmbaṭ, in the west, and Bogār or Kannān in the south. In the Karnatic the Caturtha and Paṅcama Jains have a good deal of this trade in their hands. In the north they hold a better position than in the south, having traditions of Banyā origin. In the sub-Himālayan tract, however, they belong to the earlier and darker tribes. They seem to be, on the whole, more homogeneous than most castes, possibly because their trade has fewer ramifications, and they do not deal, as a rule, in the articles they make, but dispose of them to special traders for sale to the public. At the periodical gatherings at the great centres of pilgrimage, the booths of the brass and copper vendors are well to the fore in the fair which is always held as a subsidiary attraction on such occasions, and as the wares are conveniently portable, the business is brisk. The mason, which is the last craftsman to be dealt with under this group, does not, in most parts of upper India constitute a real caste, but belongs to a functional group recruited either from the carpenter and lower menial castes, or occasionally from others, whose members have been driven to manual labour, and selected the branch which is least associated with impure materials. There are, however, true castes of this trade, such as the Gaṇḍī

and Kadio of the Dekkan and Gujarat, who have lived down their probably pre-Aryan descent. The stoneworkers of the south and some of the masons, largely consist of members of the salt-working castes whose occupation, since the manufacture of salt was undertaken by the State, has been seriously restricted. In Gujarat, the caste has been formed by separation from the agricultural labourer, and in parts of the Gangetic valley, from the lime-burners and manufacturers of saltpetre. The making of bricks, owing to the impurity of the material used for the kiln, rests with the Kumbhar, or Potter caste, which comes into a later group.

§ 40. **Weavers** (9,541,000). The people of India were wearing cotton garments in the days of Megasthenes, and do so still. No wonder, therefore, that the occupation of hand-loom weaving is one of the most widely distributed in the country, and forms the traditional calling of castes containing nearly ten millions of people. In its palmy days the craft reached a wonderful pitch of skill and refinement, especially under the patronage of the Delhi Court, which monopolised the whole of the Dacca output of "flowing-water", "gossamer" and other choice muslins, the art of weaving which has long been lost. Even the staple everyday fabrics made far beyond the imperial ken, at the seaports of the gulf of Cambay, the Malabar and the Coromandel coasts, always found a ready market in Europe and the Levant. The weaving community seems, nevertheless, to have been anything but prosperous. Before the end of the 18th century they were reported by British officials to be "a timid and helpless" folk, and even then, were, as recent experience has proved them to be still, among the first to feel the pinch of famine, when a wide-spread failure of crops reduced or stopped the purchasing power of the peasantry. Since then their market has been seriously curtailed by the competition of European machine-made goods, and it is only in the coarser lines of material that they hold their own. The weaver is not one of the menials who is, so to speak, on the village staff: that is, he is not entitled to a customary share of the harvest, but is paid for what he makes and sells. With one or two exceptions, the weaver castes occupy a low position, considering the character and utility of their function. This is doubtless due to the fact that the latter originated amongst the pre-Aryan races, who subsequently became the helots of those to whom cotton was unknown before they exchanged the steppes of the north for the more genial temperature of sub-tropical India. The weaver, though below the peasantry, is far above the village menials who do field-labour and work in leather and other impure materials. He represents, in fact, the highest rank to which castes of that origin can attain. Perhaps the best instance of this position is found in the Tānti of Lower Bengal, who enjoy a rank much above that of any other weaving-caste, and even, intermarry, when sufficiently wealthy, with castes like the Kāyasths. In their case, however, there is no question of evolution from any lower Deltaic tribe. It is not known whence they came, but the country in which they are now found is not a cotton-growing tract, and the weaving industry, accordingly, was probably introduced from the north-west, the origin of the craftsmen being obscured by promiscuous recruitment, and condoned in consideration of their skill and utility. There are other cases of weaver castes of superior position, such as the Khatrī or Patve of Gujarat and Central India, who, from the beginning dealt with no fabric but silk, and the probably kindred caste of Pattunūrkaran, in the Tamil country, which found its way by devious



routes and with many halts, from Mālva to the south. But the mere restriction of their operations to the more valuable products is not, of itself, enough to raise the caste above its fellows in the eyes of the world, for the Tāntvā of Bihār, who are silk-workers, but also breed the worm, rank far below the Tāntī, who use cotton. On the other hand, the handling of jute or hemp seems of itself to keep a caste to the bottom of the craft, as in the case of the Perike and Janappan of the Dravidian country, the Kapāhī of Bengal, and the Dhor of the Dekkan. In regard to the evolution of the weaver from the servile castes, a good instance is found in the east of the Central Provinces and the adjoining Orissa hills, where the process is still going on. The Panka, a tribe of Kol or Dravidian origin, with its exogamous totemistic structure, does the coarse weaving of the tract, and also cultivates, either as an occupant or a field labourer; but in many villages it is not admitted within the site, and has to dwell, like other impure menials, in a detached hamlet. In the Central Provinces the Pānkā has joined the Kabirpanthī sect in considerable numbers, like the leatherworking castes of the neighbourhood, with the further inducement that the founder of the sect was himself a weaver. The Ganda, another weaving caste of the same region, but mostly inhabiting the plains, is closely related to the Pānkā, and, indeed, is often held to be a subdivision of the latter; but its members are now not weavers so much as cultivators, village watchmen and drummers, nor do they share the Kabirpanthī views of the others. To the south of these castes, across the hills, are the Dombā, a tribe of hill weavers, low in their habits and trade-skill. They mostly belong to the Madras territory, but, from their name, it is possible that they may appertain to the great Dōm tribe of the north of the Ganges, members of which are found detached in the Dekkan and Karnatic. Like the Pānkā, they are classed with the lower menials of the village, and perform the same unhonoured functions. In nearly all the other parts of India the differentiation of the artisan from the menial has been more definitely carried out. The Kōrī, the chief Brahmanic weaving caste of Upper India, together with the Julaha, the corresponding division of the Muslim, are now quite detached from the leather-working caste from which, according to the nomenclature of their subdivisions, they sprang. In the case of the Julahā, the sectional affix is falling into disuse, and with it the customs with which it is associated. The Kōrī adhere more closely to their ancestral practices, possibly because the chances of rising in position in the Brāhmanic world are not to be compared with those offered by Islam, as embodied in the popular saying — "Last year I was a Julahā (or Nadaf); this year, a Šaikh, and next year, if the harvest be good, I shall be a Saiad". Both castes work chiefly in the coarser fabrics, as they have been hard hit by foreign competition in the finer class of weaving. Some of the Kōrī sections are of the Kabirpanthī sect, but others pay their respects to both the orthodox Brahmanic deities and to the popular Muslim saints of the locality, a practice reciprocated by the Julaha, who worship Mata Bhavani, where she holds the popular favour. The Julahā of the cities have the reputation of being a specially factious and quarrelsome body — "Eight Julaha fighting over nine hukkahs" — say their neighbours. The place of the Kōrī is taken by the Balahī in Rajputana and Central India, a caste allied, like the rest, to the Camar, or leather-worker. In southern India the weaver castes, though varying in rank, seem to have long acquired a higher position than in the north.



The Kaikkolan, or Tamil weavers, share, it is true, an ancestor with the Paraiyan or menial caste, and used to be relegated with the rest of the Kammala with whom they were classed, to a detached hamlet. By dint of clean living, however, and the employment of Brahmans, they now occupy a respectable position. Most of the other weavers of this part of India are of Kanarese origin. A good many are returned simply under the general title of Neyige, the Mysorean term for weaver, and are probably, like the Sale of various subdivisions, very largely Liṅgayats. The Sale have long been settlers to some extent in the Tamil country where they wove silk with much profit, but lost ground under the competition of the still more skilful Paṭṭunurkaran. In the Dekkan and Central Provinces they are found in different grades, according to whether they work only in white or add a border or fringe of coloured silk. The Dēvaṅga and the Togata are other sections of the Kanarese weaving community, lower in position than the above. The Togata, indeed, are not found in their native country at all, but have permanently settled in the south. A caste of Bengal weavers, the Jugī, has been mentioned in connection with the ascetic body of a similar name. Its origin is unascertained, but it is not affiliated to the leather-workers. Its low position may be partly attributed to the pretensions it has made to higher rank, thereby entailing an unusual concentration of Brahmanic displeasure. Though suffering like its fellows from European competition, the caste till recently had stuck fairly closely to its traditional calling. The Koṣṭi of the Marāṭhā country holds, like the Kaikkolan, a middle place between the silk-weaver and those of servile origin. Brahmans are employed in the caste ceremonies and the Koṣṭi lives, as a rule, very like the poorer Kunbi. The famines of recent years caused much distress amongst this caste, and, from their sedentary life, it was difficult to adopt means for giving them fitting relief work. They are endeavouring to evade the results of foreign competition by weaving British yarn, whereby they produce a fabric which combines fineness with the strength and durability of hand-loom work.

§ 41. **Oil-pressers** (4,517,600). Wherever oil-yielding seed or nut is grown there is an oil-press in every village of average size. The material most extensively used in the interior is sesame, with linseed and the castor-bean for burning. Along the coast the coco-nut is the chief oil-producing material. The castes engaged in oil-pressing do not everywhere take the same social position. Generally, their rank is low, because the occupation is undeniably a dirty one; but there are degrees even in impurity. In most parts those who only press sesame, or oil used in cookery, are higher than those who prepare the oils used for burning or lubrication. But sometimes a distinction is drawn between those who get out the oil by boiling the seed and the majority, who use the press. Amongst the latter, in turn, those who yoke two bullocks to the press take precedence over those who use only one, and the subdivisions are named accordingly. In the present day, however, the single bullock is the rule, and this blindfolded and unfortunate agent is everywhere the proverbial type of dull and endless toil. Finally, the oil may be allowed to drip through a hole in the press or may be baled out of the receiver with a little rag-mop. In parts of Bengal the latter process alone is honourable, the reason being that when oil procured by the former was presented to the goddess Bhagvati, she drew a trenchant and celestially outspoken analogy between the form of press and the human body, in token of her disapproval of

the method adopted. Hence, the Teli who mops out his oil will have no intercourse with the Kalu, though both are subdivisions of the same caste. In the Panjāb the Teli is Muslim, and one of the divisions has separated into a distinct body, the Qasāb or butcher, both ranking with the Julāhā. In other parts of upper India, the Brāhmanist Teli is respectable, but on a low plane, and some, including those of Bihār, are served only by Brāhmans who are out of communion with their fellows. In Bengal, Gujarāt and the Dekkan, the oil-presser is often a grain-dealer or shop-keeper, and in the first named province attains to considerable wealth and importance. In the Dravidian country the caste is known by the name of the oil-press, Sekkān or Vāṇiyan, in the Tamil districts, and Gāṇḍla, Gāṇiga, or Jōtipan, in Telugu and Kanarese. The Telugu and Tamil castes employ Brāhmans, wear the thread and generally follow the customs of the upper castes of cultivators. The Kanarese castes are more subdivided, but employ Havika Brāhmans when available. Some are Liṅgāyats. The oil-presser in Malabar stands on a different footing to the rest. In the northern region he is ranked with the impure, and kept down. In the south of the tract, however, he is one of the castes which has crept under the comprehensive title of Nāyar. In neither case do the oil-pressing castes wear the sacred thread as they do above the Sahyādri, nor do they employ Brāhmans. The trade is one which has suffered considerably of late from the competition of mineral oil for burning purposes, and numbers of the Teli are taking to cultivation for a living.

§ 42. **Potters** (3,521,800). The Potter is one of the recognised village staff, and in return for his customary share in the harvest is bound to furnish the earthenware vessels required for domestic use. His occupation goes back to the time of the Vedic Sūktas, and varies in its demands upon the worker according to the customs of the province or tract, the consumption of earthen platters being in some parts enormous, whilst elsewhere metal is substituted, except for water and storage. The position of the Kumhār, Kumbhār, or Kuśāvan, is above that of the helots, but is undoubtedly low. This is made manifest by the association of the caste with the donkey, the saddle-animal of Sītala, the goddess of small-pox. The Dhobi, or washerman, is the only other of the settled or village castes which makes use of that useful, but in India foulfeeding, animal. Where the caste is much subdivided those who use the bullock for carriage are superior to the patron of the humbler animal. Those who work on the wheel, again, do not intermarry with those who use a mould or make images. Elsewhere there is a distinction drawn between the artificer who only makes large vessels, and accordingly stands to his work, and him who squats on the ground. As in the case of the weavers and oil-pressers, the Bengal potter seems to enjoy a better position than his comrade of upper India. In Madras, too, both Telugu and Tamil Kuśāvan wear the sacred thread, and some sub-divisions employ Brāhmans, as in Bengal, whilst others have priests of their own community. Where bricks are in use the potter undertakes the kiln, and though, as above stated, he has to use fuel collected from sweepings and other refuse, he is not called upon to touch the lowest kinds of filth, and escapes therefore the condemnation inflicted upon the scavenger. His donkey, too, where it is in general use, is employed when the kiln is not in operation in carrying grain and other produce. In most parts of the country, the potters some-

times hold land, and in others take service in large households. In the Telugu country they are even in request as cooks, one of their traditional occupations in that region.

§ 43. **Barbers** 3,698,300.. Shaving and the paring of nails are important parts of many Brahmanic ceremonies. The arrangement of marriages is the work of an expert and trustworthy go-between; the formal communication of domestic occurrences (except deaths), the provision of music before processions, the accompanying, with a torch if necessary, of distinguished strangers on their arrival in the village, together with the essential function of gossip, all these qualifications and duties go to make the barber a much esteemed member of the village hierarchy, on a regular annual stipend either from the individual householder or out of the land or its produce. The Nāi, Nāpit, Ambaṭṭan, Maṅgala, or Hajām, moreover, is usually the only person in an average village with any knowledge of surgery, though other castes can come to the rescue of a person afflicted by such ailments as are known to yield to charms or spells. It is this practice of surgery, it is to be feared, which relegates the Barber to a social position much below the esteem he enjoys as an individual. The caste, however, as a whole, is exclusive and particular. In some tracts of the west, each caste has its own barber who will attend to no other. Everywhere, too, there is a social limit below which a barber will not shave. Nor, though his mediation is essential to the announcement of good tidings in a formal manner, will he ever consent to carry round the news of a death, a duty which is imposed upon a caste which is presumed to be below the bad luck likely to accrue from so doleful a task. In most parts of India except the Panjāb, where the Jhinvar's wife takes the office, or where a Camāri is employed, the barber's wife is the midwife or monthly nurse, and occasionally she acts as hair-dresser and manicurist to women. In Bengal, the latter occupation is alone the custom, and that but rarely. Indeed, the position of the caste, as well as that of the Bhaṇḍāri, the barber caste of Orissa, is much better in the east than in other parts. An exception must be made in favour of the Mārāyān of the Malabar coast, who in the north of the tract is the barber of the Nāyar, but as the south is approached, sheds his occupation to some extent, and acts as drummer generally, and as Nāyar priest at funerals. Still further down the coast, the work of shaving is left to a caste called Velakkattalavan, but which calls itself Nāyar. Meanwhile, the Marayān have passed into temple-service, drumming and the conduct of funerals, and give themselves the name of Attikuricci or Ambalavasi. Under this transformation, the caste ranks next to the Brahman, and will not eat with Nāyar: but no more will the Nāyar eat with the Ambalavasi. The Maṅgala are the barbers of the Telugu districts, but as their connection with preparing the mourners for a funeral renders that name unlucky, they are usually addressed as Bajantri, or musicians, in reference to the other branch of their profession. The barber is everywhere credited with vast experience of the outside world, together with a quite exceptional acquaintance with the esoteric affairs of all the families in his village. The Brahman, therefore, ministers to him without reluctance, and what with fees, presents, feast offerings and other emoluments, he often acquires quite a well-to-do position and is respected accordingly. There are as many proverbs about him as about his confrère in the West, and both he and his razors are mentioned in the Suktas of the R̥gveda.

§ 44. **Washermen** (2,887,600). In the south and west of India, the washerman is generally placed next below the Barber castes, but in Agra, Oudh, Bihār and Bengal, his position is far lower. This difference arises from convention and custom. In the one region, all but the wealthy do their own washing, either in person, at the tank in the mornings, or through the women of the family. In the north and east, however, the handling of soiled clothes is a polluting task, and the Dhōbī ranks no higher than the leather-worker. He is moreover associated in these parts with the donkey, like the Kumhār, and pays the penalty of the convenience. In most parts of upper India, in Bengal and in the Panjāb and parts of the Karnatic, the washerman is one of the hereditary village staff, and gets his share of the crops like the artisans. In Bengal he has even to take a part in the marriage-rite of the superior castes, a function which he is not called upon to perform elsewhere. At the same time, it is usually a lucky omen if on leaving home one catches sight of a Dhōbī in clean clothes. The last qualification is of uncertain signification. It may be due to its rarity, or, again, it may be connected with a popular saying that the Dhōbī's outer garments belong to his patrons. Except, however, in the localities just named, the Dhōbī belongs to the town rather than to the village. In the south, the Vannān, like the Dhōbī of Hindustān, have a subdivision which will wash the clothes of the lowest classes. In Malabar only the women of the caste do washing and the men work as tailors. The Nāyar have a caste of washermen to themselves, under the title of Veluttēḍan, or Vannattān, who often describes himself, at the Census and otherwise, as belonging to the tribe of his employers. The Kanarese washerman is the Agasa. In the Telugu country, the Cākala have a subdivision which occupies itself exclusively with dyeing, and holds itself superior to the rest. It seems, indeed, to be connected with the Velama caste of agriculturists. In the Panjāb there is a similar connection between the Dhōbī and the dyer, and in some of the north-central districts of the Province the two castes are returned impartially by either trade.

§ 45. **Fishing, Boating and Porter castes** (6,825,400). Of the large and numerous castes which look back to fishing as their traditional occupation comparatively few now exercise that calling as their principal means of subsistence, and these are localised, of course, on the coast and along the larger rivers. Those communities which have abandoned fishing have become, generally speaking, separate subcastes, which regard themselves as superior in position to those who remain faithful to the net. In this process of refinement, the first stage is usually the restriction of the ancestral connection with the water to boating and sea-faring. In the many tracts where fish is not a staple food among the masses and where there is an insufficient opening in the boat and ferry line, the fisher castes took to the portorage of such burdens as can be conveyed by poles across the shoulder, such as packages and large jars, or travellers by palki. It is probable that in the days when the latter mode of communication was the only alternative to walking or riding it fell to the bearers to provide the means of quenching the thirst of their fare in mid journey. At all events, nowadays, except in South India and the Dekkan, water brought by those castes or subdivisions which no longer catch fish is accepted without cavil by the highest classes. As water is the element above all through which personal contamination can be conveyed, the privileged position thus conferred upon the castes in question became assured, and the next



step forward was the admission of the caste into domestic service in the house. This was followed by the recognition of the fisher caste as public cook, to the extent of parching grain and preparing sweetmeats for the community at large, and selling them in shops. Thus, in the north and east of India to which the above remarks mainly apply, the fisherman basis is found in the Bhadbhunja, the Kandu and the Bhatjara, or cook of the Panjab, all of which, with a few others of similar trade, are now, for all practical purposes, entirely distinct castes. Elsewhere, the separation has been equally exclusive, though manifested only by subdivision of the main caste. The Jaliyā or Mecho Kaibartta of Bengal, for instance, the chief fishing community of the coasts of that province, stands lower than the Haliya, or ploughing division. The Kolī, too, of the west coast, is distinct from the Talabda, or agricultural section of this caste, and is called Machi, or fisher, along-side of a separate caste of that name, one of whose main subdivisions is called Kolī. The Bhoi, again, has two separate sections, the freshwater fisherman and the porter or servant. The Boya, of Telingana, which appears to be the nucleus of the caste, is divided into a village or settled section, which fishes and engages in service and portrage, and a nomad, or hunting section, living by fowling and the sale of jungle-produce. The same distinctions are found in some form or other among the great fishing castes of the Ganges valley, above the Delta. It seems probable that these all spring from some Kol tribe of the north Vindhya, which spread from the hills down the rivers. A great number of the fisherman are returned at the Census under the general title of Mallah, which, being Arabic, must have been conferred upon them at a comparatively recent date. Its subdivisions include many who are elsewhere returned under what are usually considered to be distinctive caste titles, such as Tiyyar, Mālo, Kevat and the like, with their endless subsections. One of the castes thus split up, the Paṭṇī, appears to be of a north-Gangetic origin, possibly descended from some sub-Himalayan tribe like the Dom. The Mālo, also found principally in north Bihar, holds an almost equally low position. The Tiyyar comes between the Mālo and the Jaliya Kaibartta. The Kevat in Oudh and Bihar, though probably of the same Vindhyan origin as the Mālo and Tiyyar, is largely engaged in cultivation, and takes his stand, accordingly, above the sections of the caste which carry loads or engage in domestic service, as well as above those who still live on the river. In the Central Provinces, the Kevat has not abandoned the traditional occupation, and is found mainly along the Mahanadi and its affluents. There is a colony of this caste in east Bengal, where, however, they do not catch fish but buy up and retail the haul of the Kaibartta, whom they therefore consider their inferiors. Above the tract occupied by these castes, the Kahār, or Dhimar, is by far the most important of the group, and with it comes the Jhinvar of the Panjāb, still higher in position. All these are closely connected both by rank and functions. The latter are numerous and varied. The Kahār or Jhinvar is a valuable member of the permanent village staff, and receives his share of the crops. Though low in relative rank he is pure, to the extent that he can bear water to all, and enter all but the inner pene-tralia of their houses. Indeed, in parts of Hindustān, one of the subdivisions is called Mahrā, because he is allowed inside even the women's apartments in the execution of his domestic duties. The Kahār is often a cultivator in the east, but to the west, he fishes, sinks wells, makes



baskets, carries burdens and above all, provides the water for the refreshment of the peasant in the field. He has a special branch of cultivation under him, to wit, the growth of water-nuts (*trapa bispinosa*), in the village tanks. His wife, too, as has been mentioned above, is, the midwife of the Jāt and Rajput. The Māchi is the counterpart of the Jhinvar in the west of the Panjāb and performs the same duties, with the exception of carrying burdens, the shoulder-pole and palki not being customary in those parts. There is also a keen demand for his services as village cook, because in the hot weather the village usually gets its meals from a common kitchen or oven. Down the Indus, however, and on the west coast, the Machi is a fisherman only, and the same may be said of the Mohāno, a lower caste of the Sindh waters, which is probably an occupational body.

In the Telugu country, the Bōya, mentioned above, is probably akin to the Irūḷan, a wild, roving tribe of hunters and haunters of the scrub-jungle of the lower hills. The more prevalent fishing caste is the Palle, which is said to be a branch of the great labouring caste of Paḷḷi, further south and included in it. The latter was once subdivided into the Mina, or fishing, and the Vana, or settled, clans, but apart from the barrier of a different language, the dividing line of occupation now leads the field-worker to repudiate the fisher, and not to eat or intermarry with him. Another Telugu caste, the Besta, is, like the rest, both fisher and cook, and some of its members hold land. They are supposed to be connected with the Karnatic Kabbēra, or Ambiga, who, in turn, form a link with the coast castes of the Mogēr and Mukkuvan, which go to sea, and the Mugayan, which fish only in the river. There is a similar distinction between the Tamil caste of the S'embadavan and their subdivision the S'avaḷaikkāran, the seafarers being reputed to rank higher than the freshwater people. The S'embadavan call in the local Brāhman, and the Mogēr make use of the Havika, but the rest do not trouble the priest of any community other than their own.

§ 46. **Stone, Salt and Lime-workers** (2,043,600). These may be taken as subsidiary to the fishing castes, since in many parts of the country the latter have been compelled to take to such means of livelihood, whilst some of the castes specially devoted to these trades are also connected by descent with the fishers. The Kēvat, for instance, in its lower sections, is merged into the Bind, and the Bind, in turn, touches the Cain and the Goṇṛhī, some of whom are returned as sections of the Mallāh. The majority of all these castes, however, are field-labourers, stone-workers and lime or salpetre makers, in addition to the fishing or boating sections. Some of the trades have become the attribute of a caste, as the Lūniyā, Rēhgār, Šōrēgār, originally functional bodies. The Luniyā, or Nūniyā, is the nearest to a real caste, but it is not yet organised on the normal lines. It repudiates, however the Cain, though probably, their origin is identical. The latter, in the southern parts of the upper Ganges valley, has but a poor reputation, not entirely undeserved, for frequenting places of pilgrimage, with the object of cutting the knots in waistcloths which in India serve the purpose of a pocket. North of this tract, however, the Cain ranks low, though with untainted reputation. The Bind, too, stands higher in rank in the west than in Bihār, whether he fishes or labours in the fields. On the west coast there are two bodies of salt-workers now driven to other trades. The Khārvī of Gujarāt are sailors and tile-turners, ori-

ginally belonging apparently to the Khārōl or Rehgar of Rajputana, who still, like the Agriā, are in a position to keep up their eponymous trade, both on the coast and by the Sāmbhar lake. Further south, the Patharvat, now a separate caste, is an offshoot, it is thought, from the Uppara of Kanara, and are stone-workers, the rest of the community being earth-workers and carriers by bullock; whilst the Uppiliyan and Kaduppattan, originally of the same trade, have added the profession of hedge-schoolkeeping to their means of subsistence. The Agriā, a Rājpūtāna caste, still finds room for its traditional making of salt along the Bombay coast, and to a minor extent in south east Panjāb and in the Agra Province, which, according to some, derives its name from the saline character of the soil. Where this caste is in force it ranks with the lower grade of cultivators. In some parts the Āgriā is held to be a subdivision of the Lūniyā, but there seems reason to think that it is a distinct caste. The Cūnarī, or lime-burner and the Šorēgār saltpetre-maker, on the other hand, where they are not separate castes, belong to a branch of the salt-workers. In Bengal, however, the Baitī, which burns shells into lime, ranks among the impure, though the product of their labours does not pollute those who make use of it.

§ 47. **Toddy-drawers** (4,765,400). Between the lower artisans and the field-labourers may be taken the castes which live by tapping the palm for its juice, in some parts of India a body of numerical importance. They occupy but a low position, partly by reason of their origin, partly again because the toddy they provide is often kept till fermented, and being thus an intoxicant, is relegated to the impure articles of consumption. This is the case still more markedly with the distilling castes, which are classed among the urban and dealt with separately. Along the coasts the coco and palmyra abound, and the date flourishes in Telingāna and the Gangetic valley. It is here, therefore, that these castes are in greatest strength. In lower Bengal and on the Gujarāt coast, though the material in question is abundant, it is the custom of the cultivators to tap their own trees or to employ the ordinary field-labourer or lower village menial to do the work for them. The tree-tapping castes, too, even where there is the greatest field for their labour, are largely engaged in cultivation, either as landholders or labourers. The chief caste of this description in the Ganges valley is the Pāsī, a name derived from a noose, probably in reference to the belt by means of which the palm is climbed, or, where the caste is addicted to wandering in the jungle for hunting purposes, from the snare then used. In Oudh, where the Pāsī has a bad reputation, the noose in question used to be identified with that used by the Thag in strangling their victims. The Pāsī is probably of very early pre-Aryan origin emanating from the Vindhya, and akin to the Arakh and Khaṭik castes, now differentiated by occupation. In Bihār it ranks with the Bind or Cain, already mentioned as low fishing or boating castes, but in the west, it takes a lower place. The Bhaṇḍārī, of the west coast, which is not to be confused with the Barber caste of Orissa, adheres more closely to its traditional calling, probably because its opportunities are greater, and the "toddy-habit" is more extensively established in the tract where it resides. Its members cultivate also to some extent, since restrictions upon the extraction of toddy were imposed by the government. They also distill spirit from forest produce and sugar in the State distilleries. Further down the coast, the Bhaṇḍārī is replaced by two similarly

localised castes following the same trade, the Paik and the Billava. Both names are derived from the military services rendered to the Tulu chiefs by the ancestry of the communities in question. The Paik were the infantry, and on the strength of the tradition, some of them now claim to be Kṣatriya, substituting the sub-title of Nāmdhār, for that of Hāḷe, or old, Paik. By some, however, their name is derived from Pai, the spirit worshipped by tree-tapping castes. There are probably as many cultivators among them in the present day as tree-tappers. They speak Kanarese, whereas the Billava, further to the south, are a Tulu caste, and, share, moreover, the customs of Malabār in religion and ceremonial, employing their own priests, where the Paik call in the Sātāni, an upland caste. The name Billava means archer, corresponding to the Dhānuk a labouring caste of upper India, the Kandrā of Orissa, and the Cavadā, a Gurjara Rājput clan. The south of the Peninsula is occupied by three large tree-tapping bodies, probably connected with each other in origin. The name Ḫavan, which is now used to designate one only of the three, was once applied to all. It means a native of Ceylon, and the Tiyan, who are sometimes called by it in south Malabar, also derive their name from dvīpa, an island, and claim to have come from the south. Furthermore, they address each other by the name of S'enan, which apparently corresponds with S'āṇān, the tree-tapping caste of the south-east. They are divided, like the Nāyar, into two distinct bodies, the northerners and the south-Malabar Tiyan. The northerners are wealthier, better educated and more enterprising than the others, and have managed to get some of their community into good posts under the Government. The southerners are poor, illiterate, and more closely connected with their traditional employment, with field labour as the alternative. Still further south there is a smaller body, the Taṇḍān, probably a sub-caste of the Tiyan, but not intermarrying with them. This caste has the curious custom mentioned in connection with the Nāyar, of prohibiting its women from crossing a certain river. As those on the south are far better off than their kinsfolk on the other side, this restriction may have a solid mundane basis. The third of these castes, the S'āṇān, is found principally in Tinneveli and Madura, though it is spread to some extent over most of the Tamil district. The title is not found in the early Tamil dictionaries, and in the inscriptions of the 10th century the caste is called Iluvan. The name S'āṇān is said to be derived from sāṇ and nār, signifying a span-long noose, thereby corresponding to the name of the Pāsi of upper India. The caste came into great prominence in 1899, when it asserted by force its right to enter the temples of the Maṛavan caste, on the score of its Kṣatriya origin, a title rejected by the rest of the community. The occupation of the caste is undoubtedly of great antiquity in southern India, and the Kadamba dynasty of Mysore sprang from one of its subdivisions. Numbers of the caste, therefore, were employed in its army and afterwards settled as a semi military peasantry or labouring class upon the land occupied. The tradition of such an origin, however, has not survived amongst the S'āṇān, whose claims are of comparatively recent date. Curiously enough, the only sympathisers with the claim, outside those who put it forward, are the Christian converts from the caste. The general position of the S'āṇān in society is that of the lower field labourer, just above that of the menial class. In former years, indeed, it appears that the S'āṇān, like the weavers, were prohibited from living within the village site. In the Telugu country

and the Coromandel coast the tree-tapping castes are fairly strong. The Idiga, which is the principal body amongst them, is an offshoot of the great Balija class, with whom it still sits down to meals. The separation seems to have taken place on functional considerations, though the Idiga eschew spirituous liquor and employ Brahmans of good position. They pay special homage, however, to the goddess of toddy and intoxicants generally. It is sometimes returned as Indra, but the derivation of Idiga, from the verb to extract or draw, like that from the climbing-loop in other cases, seems to indicate the more appropriate title. The Gamalla, or Gaunalla caste is also one of the same locality, and has a subdivision of the name of Idiga. Its position, however, is a little lower, and it ranks with the petty cultivators or more respectable field labourers. Brahmans are called in for its ceremonies, except for funerals, which are under the Satāni. On the coast just below Orissa, are two small castes, the Segidi and the Yata, which are toddy-drawers by tradition and mainly in practice. The latter also weaves mats and baskets from the palmyra-leaf, in spite of its title, which refers to the date-palm. In the other parts of India there is either not enough occupation for a special caste of this description, or the work is done, as in the Central Provinces and Rājputāna, by the Pasi or similar castes, already mentioned.

§ 48. **Field-labourers.** (16,158,400). The castes which come under this heading are but a fraction of these whose members make their living to a great extent by field-labour. The rapidity with which crops come to maturity in the tropics and the shortness of the time available for each harvest produce an urgent pressure upon the labour supply, which is met by the temporary diversion to the fields of numbers who during the rest of the year follow quite different occupations. Even the normal demand is very great. There is to be taken into account the universal prevalence of agriculture, and the vast numbers of holdings which require more hands upon them than can be furnished by the occupant's own family. Then, again, there are some important operations which are not lawful for the cultivator of high caste, entailing, therefore, the permanent employment of menial hands for the purpose. These are procured from the village servile classes, the rest of whom have their own special caste functions. Thus almost all the lower grades of the rural population contribute a certain quota of agricultural labour. In former days the system of predial servitude was widely spread, and whole castes were assigned to certain families or estates in a district, as on the Malabar coast and amongst Brahman agriculturists wherever they are found; and though the status of the labourer has been changed under British rule, the practice, on a voluntary basis, still persists. In some other parts of the country the labourers are distributed by families, each ascribed to a certain employer, or patron, from whom they receive special gifts or privileges beyond the mere remuneration of their labour. Finally, there is the constant transition of the landless labourer, by thrift and industry, to the position of petty landholder, not unfrequently accompanied, after an interval, by the severance of this class from the less fortunate of the body in which it was born. Thus, whilst the upper edge of the group overlaps that of the humbler landed classes, the lower is merged in the general body of the impure or servile castes at the bottom of the village community. In the group now under consideration an attempt is made to include only the upper stratum of the castes traditionally dedicated to field labour, and to deal with the rest



separately. It must be admitted, however, that it is almost impossible, in view of the different standards in force, to draw the line accurately.

Amongst the Dhānuk, for instance, a caste spread over the Jamna valley as well as north Bihār, the position is apparently higher in the latter tract, and might fairly entitle the caste to be ranked with the minor landed classes. This is not the case, however, elsewhere, and the fact that the most esteemed subdivision in Bihār is that in domestic service, and to a great extent born on the premises of the employer, seems to indicate that the peasant section also is one of "new men". From the name of the caste, which means Archer, like that of some of the corresponding castes in the Dravidian country, it may be conjectured that the Dhānuk were once a local militia, reduced in circumstances, for in the Agra province, they are the village trumpeters, and their wives share with those of the Barber the office of midwife. In Gujarāt there is a similar case, that of the Dhōdiā or Dhūṇḍiā, a tribe of Kōl origin left on the plains, which is rapidly passing from the labourer into the occupant, whilst the Dūblā, its congener, who fell at an early stage into the hands of the cultivating Brāhman, is still in a state of practical servitude on the farms of the latter. It is true that in the great "cotton years" of 1863—66, the Dūblā took to free labour, but, for the most part, they found it more advantageous to revert to what is now called hereditary service. Reverting to upper India, the Arakh, a small offshoot of the Pāsī, is undoubtedly a fallen caste, for it held a tract of the valley against the Rājputs, and was only subdued by the Muslim in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. It still ranks above the other Pāsī, but labours for its bread or acts as village watchman. In the west of Bengal are found two castes of Kōl origin, but long settled in the plains as landless labourers, a few holding land. The Bāgdī probably rank a little above the Baurī, as being more particular in their diet. They are carriers of burdens, hewers of wood, and workers in the indigo fields. Both castes admit into their community members of higher castes who are in need of such a refuge, but no recruits are accepted from below. They are described as being just "on the outskirts of Brāhmanism". In Bihār and the east of Oudh are the Rajvār and Musāhār, low castes of labourers of Kōl descent, or, at least, belonging to the dark races of the Central Belt. The Rajvār stand the higher of the two, and employ degraded Brāhmans for their ceremonies. They have retained a good deal of their tribal organisation but have settled down to cultivation and labour. Some of them have acquired holdings, as tenants, but have not yet risen above this grade. According to their own account, they belong to the same stock as the Musāhār, but stand higher. There has been a good deal of controversy as to the latter caste. The name is said to mean rat-eater, a habit the caste still retains, and this is one of the reasons why the Rajvār, who does not indulge in this diet, will have no communion with his kinsman. That the two are both pre-Āryan is certain, but whether the descent is from the Kōl through the Bhuiyā, or Dravidian through the Cēru, is undecided by the authorities on the subject. The Musāhār has not yet been organised on ordinary Brāhmanic lines, and retains much of its primitive form of worship along with its tribal subdivisions. Brāhmans are occasionally called in, but most of the ceremonial is carried on without sacerdotal aid. The Musāhār are divided, like the Bōya and other tribes of their calling, into two sections, one settled in villages, carrying loads and doing fieldwork, the other



haunting the jungles and collecting wild produce, which they bring for sale into the villages. One of the reasons given in Bihar for employing men of this caste to watch crops in the fields is worth noting, viz that the Musahar is alone able to keep off the older gods, who have been driven away by the plough and resent the intrusion of the alien peasantry. West of the Musahar is found the Bhar, now holding a higher rank than his neighbour, but bearing in his physical appearance manifest signs of his descent from a similar dark race. The Bhar is said to have once held the land on which he now labours, but was ousted by the Rājputs when they in turn fled before the Muslim. As the tribe has no tradition of migration, it is probable that it was formerly in a better position than now, but it must always have been of unsettled habits, as even now its favourite occupation is breaking up fresh land; and when a village area has once been brought fully into cultivation, the Bhar is inclined to leave it for the nearest virgin soil. The Bhar of western Bengal seems to be of higher position, and employs Brahmans where his northern namesake uses no priest at all. The latter, too, retains the rites customary among the Kōri and Camār, and owns no connection with the others down the river. In Rājputana there is a small caste, the Dhākar, which seems to be of fairly good position, and is employed upon the estates of Rājputs; but the field labour generally, both here and in the Panjāb, has fallen into the hands of the leather-working and impure castes. It is the same, for the most part, south of the Vindhya, as far as the Dravidian country, and some sections of the Koli are the only castes which can be said to be specially field labourers of a superior grade. The contamination which follows upon the use of the same implement, drinking out of the same vessel or of the same water, or smoking the same hukkah, is avoided, of course, by a strict demarcation of the various operations in the field, by the use of differently shaped lotahs, and by denoting the pipe of each caste by a differently-coloured rag tied round it.

§ 49. **Dravidian Labouring castes.** In the south of India the landless labouring classes are particularly strong in number and assertiveness, and their relative positions are hard to define and must be treated as doubtful pending the results of the investigations of the Ethnographic Survey. It is advisable, therefore, to deal with them apart from the rest. There is apparently some reason for believing them all to be of one origin, but superimposed at different times one upon the other by various waves of conquest or migration. Their position has thus varied more than that of the corresponding helot tribes of the region absorbed by foreigners from beyond the north-west of India. The title *Paraiyan*, for instance, is not found in the standard Tamil dictionary of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, but the caste now so called is referred to in contemporary records under the name of *Pulayan*, still used of the corresponding community on the Malabār coast. Some weight may also be attached to the similarity of these two names with those of the *Paḷḷi* and *Paḷḷan*, labouring castes of the south Tamil country. The *Holār* or *Holeya* of the Karnatic, too, appears to belong to the same group, as in Kanarese the Tamil *P* becomes *H*. The *Paḷḷi*, to whom the name of *Vanniyan* was given by the Brahmans, were once a dominant tribe under the Pallava dynasty, but were reduced to predial servitude when the *Vellāḷan* entered their country. They are now mainly agricultural labourers, though some have acquired land of their own and others engage in trade. They occasionally call in Brāhmins for their rites,

but their customs and rules are for the most part purely Dravidian. On the score of their former position, they have of late put forward the claim to be considered Kṣatriya, and don the sacred thread, conduct which brings them into collision with both priest and peasant. It is said that in the Right and Left-hand distribution of castes in the Tamil country, the men of the Paḷḷi go to one side and the women to the other, conjugal relations being suspended whilst the factions are in active opposition and resumed when peace is temporarily restored. The Paḷḷan, in spite of the similarity of the name, own to no connection with the Paḷḷi in the present day, and occupy a tract to the south of the latter. They are lower in rank and rarely engage in pursuits other than field labour. The names of their subdivisions, however, indicate that they may have belonged to the great Kurumban tribe and thus have an ancestral connection with the Pallava and therefore with the Paḷḷi. They follow the regular demonolatrous worship of the older Dravidians, and if they use priests from outside, they call in the Velluva, a low caste ministrant. The Pulayan, mentioned above, is a labouring caste of north Malabar, called Cēruman in the southern portion of that tract. They have a tradition of better, even dominant, days, before the Nāyar enslaved them on their estates. One of the relics of their servile condition is the practice of still bringing their children to be named by their employer. They use their own priests in the propitiation of the evilly-disposed goddesses they worship. In a good many respects they follow the customs of the Nāyar, such as inheritance through the female line in the north and through the male in the south. The title of Cēruman denotes, according to their tradition, an origin in the Cēra country. There remains the great community of village menials of a type more pronouncedly impure than the castes mentioned above. These rank above the tanners and leather workers generally, and above the scavenger, whether a separate caste or, as in the greater part of the south, a subdivision of the main body. The best known section of this group is the Paṛaiyan or Pariah, of the Tamil country. In treating of it it is advisable at the outset to get rid of the notion set on foot by the Abbé Raynal, that the Pariah is an "outcaste", or that there exists such a thing as an outcaste anywhere in India. Every community has its place, disputed though it may be, in the social hierarchy of Brāhmanism, and there is no caste but will unhesitatingly designate some other as ranking below it. Ethnographic inquiry, therefore, past and present, has never yet succeeded in touching the bottom, or in finding a waif for whom no recognised place exists within the fold, albeit without the village. Possibly, in the course of time, public opinion may crystallise round one of the nomad castes, who know nothing of their past, and recruit and eat as circumstances dictate. Meanwhile, the scavenger fills this situation in the village life with which this review is at present concerned. Now, the Paṛaiyan is a caste the position of which is at all events clearly defined, and it has a past which it cherishes. Low as he is, excluded from everyday communion with those above him, "le morne Chandai" will no more admit the polluting presence of a Brāhman into his hamlet than the latter will allow the Paṛaiyan's shadow to fall upon his water-pot. Some of the most celebrated and exclusive temples are thrown open to the Paṛaiyan on certain days of the year, and for the time he lords it over the Brāhman. At certain festivals again, especially those connected with S'iva or a local goddess, it is one of this caste who takes his seat alongside of the image

in the procession, or ties the symbolic marriage-thread round its neck. Until recently, when the custom began to wane, even the Brahman, in a few tracts, had to obtain the formal consent of the Paraiyan to a marriage in his household, and similar acts have been mentioned in connection with the rites of castes dealt with in a preceding paragraph. In another direction, certain low but responsible offices on the village staff must be filled by Paraiyan, and when there is a dispute about a boundary, it is a Paraiyan, or, in other parts of India, a member of the corresponding caste, who has to walk the line with a pot of water, his own son, or a clod of his native earth, on his head. All this tends, of course, to show that the caste was once a most important element in the population, older on the soil, in closer communion with the genius loci, and influential beyond the conception of those who only know it in its condition today. As before pointed out, its present name is comparatively modern, and in the earliest records available, before even the Pulayan are mentioned, the caste which, like the Paraiyan of to day, was excluded from the villages, was called Eyiṇan, and credited with the possession of hillforts and considerable power, on the lines of the Dasyu of the Sūkta period. The sub-castes of the Paraiyan, which are very numerous, indicate the practice of most of the more reputable handicrafts, but the general tradition among the modern Paraiyan is that the caste was formerly a weaving one by calling, and in an inscription of the 11th century, probably the earliest in which the name Paraiyan is used, it is subdivided into the weaving and the ploughing sections. Some have derived the name from parai, a drum, and a section does, indeed, act as the drummers of the Right-hand. On the other hand, their great rivals, the leather-workers, blow the trumpet for the Left, without being named after their performance on that blatant instrument. In the Karnatic, the Holeya occupy almost the same position, except that they are not, of course, affiliated to any factional distribution of other castes, nor do they weave to any great extent. A good many of them have, however, joined the Liṅgāyats, in which community weavers abound, some of them holding but a low position, attributable probably to their origin amongst such classes as the Holeya, and entailing, at all events, the establishment of a special section for their reception. In the Telugu country, the place of the Paraiyan is taken by the Māla class, the name of which resembles that of the Mahār of the Dekkan, which performs the same offices. In the case of the latter, however, the weaving branch has split off into an entirely separate body, whereas in the east it seems to remain as a subdivision. All these Dravidian labouring castes employ barbers, washermen and generally priests, of their own community. Ethnologically, the group presents features of very great interest and importance in respect to its origin and history, and much remains to be done in sifting the different strata of a people of whom so little is known in comparison with what has been ascertained concerning the servile classes in upper India. Not that there is any lack of theory, conjecture and analogy.

Two castes of western India may be here mentioned, which are dedicated generally to the same functions as most of the castes just reviewed. One of them, indeed, the Mahār of the Dekkan, is probably allied, as stated above, to the Māla of Telingāna. The distinction, however, in these tracts between the depressed castes and the rest of the village community is more definite than in the south, partly, no doubt, because racial differences are greater or have been less obscured by time. The Mahar,

for instance, belongs to a far earlier race than the Marathā peasantry, and enjoys a notable prestige amongst them for knowledge of the boundaries, and for influence with the goddesses of cholera and small-pox. The caste, too, has its own priests, but near the larger towns as often or not a *Dēsasth* or local Brahman is called in. This is, however, a modern practice, introduced since the labour market on railways and large public works brought grist to the Mahār mill. Formerly, and perhaps even now in some tracts, the Mahār had to wait for a ceremony amongst the higher castes, and then bring his own party up to just beyond the prohibited range, so that the sacred texts could be heard, with the fiction of the impure listener being out of earshot. The Mahār is as a rule, a labourer, and those who take to trades separate themselves from their fellows. The caste, like the Paraiyan, holds a low but important and useful place in the village staff, and receives shares of all the main crops, and, in some places, a considerable piece of the land. The Dhēḍ caste of Gujarat, on the other hand, is not one of the recognised community of the village, except in the south, and even there he is not regarded as one of the old stock, and has no special knowledge of the boundaries or of the idiosyncracies of the local gods. In fact, he is apparently what he claims to be, an immigrant against his will from Rājputāna, though the tradition of the movement is no longer definitely retained. In the north of the province, the menial work of the village is done chiefly by the Bhaṅgi, a lower caste, and the Dhēḍ was until recently, a weaver of coarse cotton goods. When factories were established in Bombay and the chief towns of Gujarāt the Dhēḍ lost much of his custom, and took to working under the new régime at the machine-made article, whilst others took to day labour. North of the Narbada, the families of this caste are often found attached to the estates of the larger Kaṇbi or Rājput landholders, by whom they are supported. In the south a special sub-caste has been formed of those who have taken to domestic service with Europeans, here again following the same lines as the Paraiyan. Either on account of this adaptability or because of the thrift displayed by the caste in its various callings, the Dhēḍ is credited in a local proverb with having profited above others by British rule, and to have waxed fat and kicked accordingly against his Brahmanic betters. Though the caste employs only low caste priests it is credited with great orthodoxy and assiduity in its religious duties, as well as with strictness in the observance of the rules of the caste, enforced by local councils.

§ 50. **Leather-workers** (15,028,300). This group, as was stated above, cannot be well distinguished from that which precedes it. It is the function of all the impure castes to deal with dead cattle, even if it be only to skin and to drag the carcasses away for burial. But there are grades and privileges involved. Some touch no bodies but those of the cloven-footed animal; others draw the line at cattle, and leave sheep and goats to their inferiors. Usually the hide is the perquisite of the menial, who, moreover, is not forbidden to indulge in the flesh after flaying. Indeed, when the market for leather is brisk, or when dissension is rife between the peasantry and the village menials, mortality amongst the cattle is apt to increase materially, and sometimes with a suddenness which attracts the judicial attention of the local authorities, and leads to the discovery in the thatch of the servile hamlet of the materials for an extensive study of rural toxicology. But though the castes in question remove the hides, it is only special sections of them which tan or curry them, and these,



except in the north, are generally split off into a separate caste. Furthermore, the families which take exclusively to leather-work as their profession beyond the simple requirements of the cart, plough or water-lift, usually rise to a position superior to that of the tanner or currier, and ultimately, especially in towns, hold themselves aloof from the rest. On the other hand, where the caste furnishes virtually the whole labour supply of the village, the tanning branch sinks below those which only labour in the fields. In the latter capacity, the caste has to do whatever they are bid by the peasantry — within, of course, the strict bounds of tradition. They may never, however, take up their residence in the village or pass anything directly from their own hand to that of one of higher caste. It is a noteworthy fact that with centuries of such degradation piled upon them, the women of this class should be renowned for their good looks; so much so, that special arrangements seem to have been thought necessary by the Brāhmanic organisers of society to meet the results of intrigues and illicit connections between them and men of the upper classes. To this day men turned out of their caste on this account find refuge in some recognised mixed body, whilst the offspring of such *mésalliances* go to form the "fair-skinned Camār", the subject of more than one proverbial admonition on the country side. There is the possibility, of course, that in the very north of India some of the helot classes may be descended from early foreign races who were overwhelmed by subsequent invaders and reduced to servitude, but throughout the rest of the country these classes are now generally held to represent the Dasyu or darker tribes, displaced by the Ārya and Scythian invader north of the Vindhya, and by similar movements amongst Dravidian races and others, in the south and the great delta of the east.

The great Camār caste is found all over the country except in the south, but in the tract where it is most numerous, between the east Panjāb and Bihār, it is not exclusively a leather-working caste as its name denotes. It supplies, as just pointed out, the main body of field labour, and receives its share of the harvest like the other village menials on the establishment. In this capacity, the Camār community is generally organised into distinct sections, irrespective of social subdivisions. Some work for individual patrons, but more often each is assigned to a certain association of landholders. The development of the leather industries upon European lines in some of the large towns of the north, such as Cawnpore and Agra, has attracted a large number of Camār away from their native haunts. Indeed, the demand for labourers along the railways and in the chief commercial centres of upper India is said to have had the effect of depleting to a considerable extent the supply available for the village field operations, and the Camār, like the Dhed of Gujarāt, leaves home when he pleases, and returns with a full pocket and something of a "swelled head". In parts of Rajputana and the southern Panjab, the Camār does the coarse weaving undertaken further east by the Kori. The caste is subdivided minutely by function, locality and traditions as to origin, into endless endogamous sections, in a recognised order of precedence, and all under the regulation of a caste-Council which is said to be strict in its enforcement of ceremonial rules. In the central and eastern Panjab a good many of the Camār are Sikhs by religion, though of course they occupy a position different from that of the Jat. Comparatively few seem, from the Census, to have embraced Islam, but this is due to the use of the title of



Mōci by converts, especially in the west of the Panjāb, where they are nearly all Muslim. In other parts of India, the Moci is the subdivision, generally entirely distinct, which is engaged in shoemaking, usually in the larger towns. Even in the west Panjāb the Camār or Moci do not perform the same duties in the village as the Camār of the east, but only do the leather-work and tanning, thereby taking a higher position than their agricultural fellow. The Camār of other Provinces is a Brāhmanist in his faith, of much the same order as the lower masses of the population of the locality. In some parts he gets Brāhmans of a low grade to serve him, but, as a rule, they are only called in to nominate the most auspicious day for important domestic ceremonies. By reason of the connection of the caste with the exuviae of dead cattle, the Camār is held to be lower in rank than even the Brahmanised section of a converted forest tribe which has abandoned the cruder elements of its daily diet. It does not appear, however, that this was always the case, as leather entered into the clothing of the early Vedic communities long before they could have reduced the Dasyu to servitude, so that the task of tanning and preparation must have been performed by members of their own race. The degrading character of the occupation, therefore, may have been imputed to it by the Brāhmanic censors of the new régime when it was established upon priestly initiative at a later date.

In the lower Himālayan valleys of the Panjab there is the Mēgh caste, who perform much the same duties as the Camār of the plains, but are rather higher in social esteem because they are largely weavers, and leave the dirtier offices of the village to lower castes, such as the Kōli and Dāgi. The latter do the leather work in some parts, but elsewhere they put it on to the Kōli or Canāl. All are of about the same class as the Camār, some even being subdivided under that title, and represent the earlier tribes of the locality, reduced to servitude by the later comers from the south or west. They resemble the lowest castes of the plains, too, in acting as pipers and drummers at village processions. South and west of the Vindhya, the caste is still known by the names of Cāmbhār, or Khālpō, but is quite unconnected with the northern communities of the former name. The leather work, too, is detached, more or less, from the menial offices, and is not intimately bound up with the village staff.

In the Dekkan and Telugu country, the Camār gives place to the Māṅg or Mādiga, both of which names are apparently derived from Mātangi, the caste goddess, a synonym of Kālī. The Mādiga takes a prominent part in the festivals of the Śakti worshippers, probably of Dravidian origin incorporated into the Brāhmanic pantheon as circumstances demanded. From this as well as from the part it plays in the marriage ceremonies of some of the higher castes, it may be inferred that the caste is one of the earliest of the uplands, and thus more likely to propitiate the local gods than the more reputable but more recent arrivals now in occupation. Both Māṅg and Mādiga employ their own priests, Gāruḍa or Dasari. Where the Māṅg is found alongside of the Mahār in the Dekkan there is always rivalry and occasionally strife, but the Mahār takes precedence of the other in the village. In the Tamil country the principal leather-working caste is the Śakkiliyan, vulgarised by Europeans into Chuckler. It is an immigrant body, as several of its subdivisions bear Telugu or Kanarese titles, and many of its members still use those vernaculars. It may be added, too, that its name does not occur in any of the older inscriptions in Tamil. It is probably, therefore, an offshoot of the Mādiga, moved south,

importing with it its traditional rivalry with the village serf, for there is constant bickering between the Śakkiliyan and the Paraiyan, public opinion being in favour of the labourer, as in the Dekkan. It may also be noted that the leather-workers are here, as in the north, remarkable for the beauty of their women, and in those stages of Sakti worship at which the presence of a living representative of the Female Energy is necessary, a Śakkiliyan girl is always selected for the part.

It is only the simpler leather work, as was mentioned above, that is done by the village Camār, and though he can cobble shoes, he does not generally make any but the roughest kinds. The Mōci takes up the higher branches of the craft, but in Bengal, as in the west Panjāb, this caste does a good deal of the village labour, and in the former tract his shoes are said to be inferior to those of the Camār of Bihār. In Rājputāna the Bāmbhī seems to be the shoemaking branch of the latter, and in 1891 some 207,000 of them were returned, but as in 1901 they were reduced to 1100, it is probable that the rest are included in the main Camār caste. In several parts of India, the Mōci of the towns are divided into functional sub-castes, such as that of saddlers, embroiderers of saddle-cloths, makers of leather buckets for għi (clarified butter), of spangles, shields and scabbards, rising in rank as their calling entails greater skill or more costly materials, always tending towards endogamy within the craft.

§ 51. **Watchmen** (3,639,900). There are few countries, possibly none, in which the old counsel to set a thief to catch a thief has been more widely and conscientiously put into practice than in India. In the case of more than one of the castes already passed under review it has been pointed out that a portion of the community in question was avowedly detached for night work of one sort in order to counteract the enterprise of its comrades in simultaneous operations of another. In several of the older lists of the castes of a locality, too, there may be found opposite a title, the terse description, "Thieves and watchmen". The combination is obviously appropriate in tracts interspersed with hills and forests, or containing the broken ground, frequent in India, in which the facilities of both functionaries for evading observation are united: or, again, where tribes of hunting and fowling propensities have settled down to village life. But even in the open and well-cultivated plains the need of a night-watch over cattle, grain and other movable property is generally recognised, although the underlying notion of blackmail may be absent. In the latter case, however, the duty is performed by a local caste in which it is not the traditional or even the principal mode of getting a living. It tends, however, like all else in India, to become hereditary in the families which take to it, and, if associated with a recognised dole out of the harvest, to be ultimately crystallised into a sub-caste. This seems to have been the case with the Dhanuk of the Ganges valley, though the branch of the caste which has found its way into the eastern Panjāb is treated as criminal without the saving grace of occasional watchmanship. The Mahar of the Dekkan, again, has recognised subdivisions of watchmen and the guardians of the village gate. There are also castes which are traditionally watchmen without any association with the predatory classes. Among these are the Barvala and Batval, of the lower Himalayan valleys of the Panjāb, who, though chiefly watchmen and messengers, also perform many of the menial offices which in the plains are left to the Camār, but draw the line at dealing with skins and leather. They are not allowed however,

to reside within the village site, and in this respect are on the level of the Mahār. The Ghāṭvāl of Bihār, again, has become a separate caste in consequence of its having appropriated to itself the guardianship of the low passes through the hills, and has a share in the general name of Mallāh. But it is most probably an offshoot of that wide-spread and incoherent tribe known as the Bhuiyā. The Kandra of Orissa derive their name, like the Dhanuk, from their prowess in archery, and in former days constituted a local militia in conjunction with the Pānkā. They are now watchmen and labourers, keeping up much of their old religion and customs, but employing Brāhmins on occasions. In the Dravidian country, the Ambalakkāran of the south-eastern Tamil districts, have risen by the adoption of Brahmanic rules from a hunting caste to an established village position as watchmen and cultivators. Their kinsfolk, the Mut-tiriyan, are said to have passed through a militia stage before settling down to the guardianship of the village. They are affiliated by some to the Mutrāca, a larger caste once no doubt the guards of the frontier of the Vijayanagara dominions, and it is possible that the military traditions of the Muttiriyan are due to this relationship. The Mutrāca, however, are from the Telugu country, and the connection therefore may be no more than is suggested by similarity of name.

There remain the castes which are constituted watchmen more from apprehension than from an *a priori* confidence in their efficiency. Amongst these may be counted the Khangār of Bundelkhaṇḍ, now numerically insignificant, and subdivided into a cultivating and respectable section, and one which furnishes watchmen and labourers to the villages. It is no doubt one of the early Vindhyan tribes a portion of which has been Brāhmanised by enlistment into local forces and contact with the Rājputs by whom the tribe was dispossessed of its hill-strongholds. The upper section has no social intercourse with the watchmen. The latter retains its old customs and religion, does not employ Brāhmins, and, although not one of the regular criminal tribes, is sufficiently prone to petty theft and burglary to make its enlistment as Kōtvāl or watchman, advisable. In some cases it is returned at the Census under this name, but it is totally unconnected with the watchman caste of Bardvān, in Bengal, or that of the west, which is Bhil, or of the Central Provinces, which is Gōṇḍ. A more important community of this class is the Minā of Rājputāna, to which reference was made in connection with the Mēō, the Muslim and more settled branch of the same tribe. The Minā are spread all over the east and north of Rājputāna, and were formerly the rulers of a considerable portion of the present state of Jaipur, if not of Alwar and Bhartpur also. Even now, they occupy a dominant position amongst the agriculturists of the east, and in Jaipur, a section is employed as the special guardians of the palace and State treasure. It used to be the custom, moreover, for a Minā to complete the enthronement ceremonial of the Chief of Jaipur by affixing upon his forehead the mark of his caste, just as in Mēvāl, the Chief has to undergo the same operation at the hands of a Bhil, in token of the acquiescence of the former owners of the soil in the new order of things. There is no doubt that the Minā are of early and pre-Āryan origin, though a section of them has been impregnated by Rājput blood to an extent which encourages them to claim to belong to that order. Of the two sections into which the tribe is divided, the Caukidārī, or watchmen, used to be the terror of Central India, and carried its raids far south of the Vindhya. As it still

exercises its traditional functions of guarding the villages, it considers itself higher in rank than the other sub-division, the Zamindari, which has settled down to cultivation, and it used to take its brides from the latter without returning them. Now, however, the cultivator has advanced in prosperity and refuses to recognise the older section either as its superior or even as its equal. In this it was supported by a former Chief of Alvar, who did his best to sever the more reputable of his subjects from the contaminating influence of their turbulent fellow-tribesmen. In the south of Rajputana the Mina hold a lower position than up north, and in Marwad some rank as village menials of the impure grade. In the neighbourhood of the hill tracts they are also hunters and fowlers, and everywhere their reputation is the basis of their employment on the village staff. Almost the same can be said of the Bhil, who, in Gujarat, serves as watchman, under the sub-title of Vasavô, a name applied to his tribe in the western Satpura. In Bihar and along the Ganges as far up as Mirzapur, the large caste of the Dôsâdh undertakes the duties of watchman. This community is very mixed. It has undoubtedly a strong strain of Mongoloidic blood, but it is peculiar in the extent of its formal recognition of members of higher castes who seek admission to its ranks. It employs degraded Brahmans for ordinary purposes, but at the chief festival of the caste, that in honour of Rahu, the demon of eclipse, one of its own number officiates. The Dosadh used to furnish many recruits to the Muslim armies of Bengal, and it is said that a considerable proportion of Clive's army at Plassey was composed of this caste. Now, however, the Dosadh has but a poor reputation for industry, whilst it is much addicted to crimes against property, entailing its employment as watchmen. The rest of the caste get their living by portage and day labour. The Mal of western Bengal is largely engaged to watch crops and villages, as many of its sections are thieves and wandering pilferers. It belongs to a large and widely-spread Dravidian tribe now divided into numerous separate castes.

A similar caste to the Dôsâdh is found in the Berar, or Bedar, "fearless ones", of the south Dekkan. These were originally hunters and fowlers of the Karnatic, and were formed into militia by the Muslim Chiefs of Mysore and Haidarabad, in which capacity they served till a comparatively recent period. They are now watchmen and petty cultivators. Their faith is Brahmanic, of the semi-Dravidian type, and they employ the Satani caste as their priests. Possibly they come of the same stock as the Boya, one section of which pursues the same calling, or the Vedan of the Tamil country, who are still hunters and in the jungle phase of existence. In the Maratha country, especially near the Sahyadri range, the place of the Berar is taken by a kindred tribe, also from the south, known as the Ramôsi, a title which is said to represent the Marathi Ranvasi, or forestdweller. They address each other, however, as Boyali, indicating Telingana parentage. They stand higher than the Bedar, and employ by preference, the Jaigam priests of the Lingayat, with a Gosai for their religious and moral instructor. According to the caste reputation, the functions of this individual are more necessary than effective. By the age of seven, the Ramôsi boy must have stolen something or he is disgraced. If caught and convicted, the halo thereby acquired renders him a prize in the marriage market for which an unusually high dowry has to be offered. Another peculiar tenet of this caste is that meat is not to be eaten unless it has been killed by a Muslim.



§ 52. **Scavenging castes** (3,647,700.. This group includes the lowest of at all events the village castes of India, whatever may be their position relatively to the immoral and foul-feeding nomad. Yet even here there are gradations of rank duly recognised within the community though not affecting its intercourse with the outside public. For this reason, perhaps, the Bhangī or Mihtar caste of the upper Gangetic region is subdivided to an unusual extent, and the main endogamous sub-castes are strict in regard to the limitation of their respective functions. Judging from the nomenclature of the subdivisions it may be inferred that the caste was originally formed out of a number of local tribes, reduced or compelled to have recourse to occupations repudiated by the community to whom they were subject. Some of these sub-castes draw the line at carrying loads and playing pipes and drums; others have become watchmen, cane-workers, domestic servants, sweepers of roads, and plasterers of walls with cowdung. A section which keeps pigs, again, ranks below all but those who remove night-soil, and amongst these last, those who serve private houses hold no intercourse with those employed on public latrines. It may be borne in mind that these latter functions are confined to towns, except where the women of the household are strictly secluded. Elsewhere, the custom of the country renders their offices unnecessary. The great differences in the physical appearance of sections of the caste do not indicate a different origin of the respective communities, but a varied recruitment from higher castes of "broken men"; and, also, the impregnation of the sections undertaking domestic service with the blood of their employers through illegitimate connections, the Mihtarānī sharing the reputation of the Camārī for good looks. She is also called in, like the wives of several of the low castes, to perform duties connected with childbirth which no higher class will undertake. In the west, where there is no question of a lower caste, the Bhangī will handle a corpse, kill a stray dog, and act as hangman. Further east, he finds that these functions can be thrust upon the Dōm, a tribe of probably quite as early origin, but later enslavement to Brāhmanic supremacy. In the Central Panjāb the Cūhṛā does much the same work that the Camār does where the latter is in full strength, and resents the title of Bhangī. In the west of the province the Muslim sweeper known as Kuṭānān or Musallī, digs graves but will not touch night-soil. Further to the south, the Cūhṛā is called Jāt like many other menial castes. In the east, the caste is a recognised member of the village staff and belongs to the Bhangī community of the Gangetic region. Amongst other duties may be mentioned one of great importance in a land where fuel is scarce, that is, the collection, drying and storing of cowdung for burning. The sweeper, too, is the only caste which will convey the tidings of a death to those whom it may concern. In the Sikh tracts many Cūhṛā have joined that faith and after conversion continue to perform only the less offensive parts of their traditional duties. One of their subdivisions, the Rangretā, has risen in position by taking to leather work exclusively. The Mazhabī, or Mazbī, as the Sikh Cūhṛā is called, makes a capital soldier, but has to be brigaded in separate regiments, as the other Sikhs, with their eye on the traditional calling, refuse to associate with the convert, even in religious ceremonies. Occasionally the Sikh intermarries with the Lāl Begī, or Brāhmanic Bhangī. In north Gujarāt, the Bhangīō is one of the principal village menials, and does most of the unskilled labour. In spite of the Rājput titles of the sub-

castes, this community is one of long settlement on the land there. It is the Bhangio, for instance who points out the boundaries; the sight of one of this caste carrying his basket brings luck for the day, and before crossing the Mahi river in a flood, the blessing of a Bhangio tends to a safe passage. In this part of the country, as on the Ganges, the Bhangio is strict in his religious observances, but is only allowed, of course, to worship from the outside court of the temples. As in the north, too, this caste has the provision and control of the village music at times of festival. In Bengal and Assam the chief castes of sweepers are the Bhuinmali and the Hari, or Haqdi. Probably both are of the same stock, a Kol or Deltaic tribe of early settlement. The Bhuinmali is found in the north and east of the province, the Hari in the west and centre, and the Haqdi in south Orissa. Both are subdivided into functional sub-castes which do not intermarry. Musicians and porters stand highest, and often take to cultivation. The Mihtar, borrowing its name from upper India, is the lowest section, and the only one which touches night-soil. Between these come sections working in cane, tapping palms and carrying torches at weddings. One section has taken to private service. The smearing of wet cowdung upon walls is a frequent occupation of the Bhuinmali, but they can only touch the outer walls, and except this caste none will touch the wall of another owner, though each householder does the steps and inner walls of his own dwelling. The Hari has preserved much of the non-Aryan customs of his original tribe in regard to marriage, and is singular amongst the widow-marrying classes of India in prohibiting instead of encouraging, the marriage of the widow to the younger brother of her late husband. The caste does not, as a rule, call in Brahmins, but the practice of making use of them is spreading round Calcutta, though the Brahmins in question are put out of communion by their fellows.

As the Dravidian country is approached the village scavenging is more and more done by some of the menial castes mentioned in a preceding paragraph, such as the Paraiyan or Mala. It will probably be found that as elsewhere endogamous sub-castes are being formed, separating the sweeping and labouring families from those employed in municipal or private conservancy.

§ 53. **The Dom and Ghāsiyā.** It was remarked above that in the Gangetic region there were functions which even the scavenger caste would not undertake, there being the Dom at hand to perform them. Here, then, is found a caste which, if not at the bottom of the social scale, is, at least, not far from it. It is not, however, a scavenging caste by tradition, nor is it homogeneous. There are Doms and Doms. In the Kumāon and Garhvāl Himālaya, the Dom lives by agriculture and village handicrafts. Further west, the Panjāb Dūmpha is often, it is true, the village sweeper, but his ordinary trade is that of cane-work. This last is, in fact, the occupation most widely spread, on the whole, throughout the caste. The Dom is at his lowest in the Bengal Delta, whither the caste is said to have been imported from upper India, to do what no local caste would do. In Bihār and its neighbourhood to the west, the Dom seem to fall into two sections. One settled down to village life, mat-weaving, basket-making, and labour, with a little scavenging thrown in, the other more or less nomad, and containing gangs said to be expert and artistic burglars and thieves. Some stray tribes seem to have penetrated across the Central Belt into the north Telugu country and the Karnatic. In the former they

are coarse weavers, and in the Dekkan, acrobats, dancers and bad characters generally. Both these bodies have the appearance of belonging to the Kōl-Dravidian race, possibly through the admixture of local blood. In the same way, the Ḍōm of Dacca, long separated from their native country up the Ganges, have acquired characteristics different from those of the Ḍōm of Bihār. It is now generally believed that the Ḍōm were settled in force along the southern Himālaya at a very early period, and judging by the forts and strongholds called after them, they were in a dominant position, like the Dasyu encountered by the first Vedic immigrants. The Ḍōm still on the hills were enslaved by later comers, such as the Khasya and refugee Rājputs and Brahmans. The community is divided into four groups, field-labourers, weavers, and metal-workers; cane-workers and the lower artisans; exorcists, porters and leather-workers, and, finally, musicians, mendicants, and — tailors. The Ḍōm of the plains, when settled, tend to establish separate castes of cane-workers (Bansphōrā, Basōr), and labourers. In spite of efforts to get them to work themselves into a better position they seem to have no aspirations beyond their traditional occupations or a little petty cultivation. But in social intercourse they disown the nomads. It must be noted that the Ḍōm of the Panjab, whatever their nominal connection with the Ḍōm, are now an entirely separate community, both in occupation and social position.

There is a small community called the Ghāsiyā, which, though probably not connected with the Ḍōm by origin, may be taken with it in view of its kindred position and occupation. It has been held, in Bengal, to be a sub-caste of the Hārī, but it appears to be an independent offshoot of some Kōl tribe of the Central Belt, and to have been severed from its parent stock at a comparatively recent date. The Ghāsiyā is still divided into its totemistic exogamous sections, and keeps up the worship of the field goddesses and other genii of its native haunts. In the neighbourhood of the larger Kōl tribes the Ghāsiyā occupy but a low position, and perform on drums and trumpets at festivals with other menial functions. In the plains, however, the Ghāsiyā have entered private service as grooms and elephant-drivers. The caste keeps much to itself, and, low as it is, it eschews the menial offices imposed upon it in the hills, and especially avoids the leather-worker and contact with dogs.

### C. Subsidiary Professional Castes.

§ 54. This comparatively small group comprises a number of bodies which, though not so directly concerned with the every-day life of the masses as those dealt with in the preceding paragraphs, exercise functions which are intimately connected with certain phases of the domestic or religious observances of at least the upper and middle classes of the Brāhmanic community in most parts of the country, and stand intermediately, as it were, between the village and the specially urban castes.

**Bards and Genealogists** (782,500). These ancient professions are usually found more or less linked together, and in India the connection is peculiarly intimate. From the earliest times chants in praise of the founders and heroes of the clan have been recited to tickle the ear of the ruling Chief when sitting in formal assembly or heading a procession through his streets. Still more essential were they in battle, to encourage the fighting members of the community to emulate or excel the deeds of

their ancestors. The annals of such enterprise with the personality of the principal performers became, naturally, the special study of those whose duty it was to set them to verse and directly connect them with the patrons before whom they have to be recited. The Bard, therefore, developed into a sort of Herald, and as his office, like all others in India, tended to become hereditary, the pedigree of those he served was transmitted in all its ramifications from father to son, with that marvellous accuracy of memory which is marked feature of the Brahmanic intellect. The importance of such knowledge can hardly be overrated in a country where the licit and the prohibited degrees of affinity which form the basis of all arrangements of marriage or adoption, are the subject of most minute and complicated regulation throughout the community from top to bottom. In the course of time, therefore, the genealogist more or less split off from the bard, and took the higher rank at Court. His functions are chiefly exercised among the Rājputs, but in the Panjāb some of the Jāt clans, and in Gujarāt some of the leading Kāṇbi families, utilise his services. As a rule, each of the ruling and leading families keeps its own genealogist. The rest of the community is divided into circuits, assigned respectively to a certain member of the fraternity, who annually visits each family in order to learn what domestic occurrences have taken place since his previous visit. In modern times every one of these incidents is entered by him in his register. Such is the reputation of the genealogist for accuracy and knowledge that this register is accepted as final in any question of affinity or relationship, and even before such "vahi" were customary, no Rājput ever thought of disputing the decision of the genealogist upon these points. The principal caste coming under this head is the Bhāt, sometimes called Bharot in Gujarāt and Rājbhāt in Bengal. A question has been raised whether the caste takes its origin from Brahmans who in old days secularised themselves in order to act as Court poets and panegyrists, or whether the function devolved upon a member of the Rājput clan to which the Bhāt was attached. There is evidence on both sides. In every tract in which the Bhāt is found, the community contains two sections, of which the Brahma Bhāt is the higher. In Rājputana, the Brahma, or Birm Bhāts are treated as Gauṛ Brahmans, and in the east of Oudh, that sub-caste of Brahman which is native to the locality, actually performs the duties of bard, and sometimes of genealogist. Again, the person of a Bhāt has always been considered inviolable, like that of Brahman. On the other hand, a Brahman is never known to drop his exogamous subdivision by Gotra, whilst the Bhāt are subdivided according to Rājput custom. The inviolability of the Bhāt, too, may be attributed not only to the character of herald or privileged messenger or forerunner of Chiefs, but to the inexpiable guilt of destroying the only recognised authority upon pedigree, and the apprehension of the vengeance or reprisals that would infallibly follow such an outrage. It is true that the Bhaṭraṇu of the Telugu country are subdivided into the Brahmanical gotra, but this branch of the caste is an exotic, introduced, under the name of Māgadha, through Orissa and probably from Bihar, in the course of invasions of the Āndhra region from the north, and has not kept up either its traditions or its occupation amongst the once military Dravidian castes to which it was attached. On the other side, there is the fact that the Bhāt is a distinctively Rājput institution, and, except for the colonies in Telingana and eastern Bengal, is only found where Rājput influence is supreme. Even in Gujarat, where



the Bhāts are numerous, all their sections trace their origin to some part of Rājputāna, and, as a rule, the Bhāts in regular employ dress as Rājputs and have Rājput names. In regard to the distribution of the work of the caste, the Brahma-Bhāt usually takes upon himself the duties of poet and reciter whilst the others look after the pedigree. In upper India, too, the former do not take up permanent posts, but are engaged for the occasion. In Rājputāna itself, the male Bhāt, it is said, undertakes the care of the pedigree of the male line, and his wife that of the female. In these days, the Bhāt does not enjoy by any means the same position as of yore, though a good reciter has still a high value, and in Gujarat, a popular genealogist has considerable influence as counsellor in the households of his clients. Even in the west, however, the Bhāt has been obliged to leave his traditional profession to a great extent for trade and cultivation, like the Bhatrazu of the south. In eastern Bengal, where the caste is exotic, it ranks much lower than in upper or western India, though it wears, as elsewhere, the sacred thread. The Bhāt there still practises the profession of genealogist, and each member of the fraternity has his circuit which he visits annually. At other times he is in request only in connection with marriage ceremonies, in which he takes the part of herald between the two houses concerned, and acts also as go-between in the preliminary stages of the family arrangement. But in the eastern districts, the Bhāt has been reduced even to the trade of making leaf-umbrellas. Some of the Rājputāna Bhāt acquire herds of cattle and carry salt, grain and piece-goods to localities remote from the railways.

In this respect they fall into line with the Caran, a bard and genealogist of a lower type, whose range lies between Kach and Rājputāna. The name seems to connect the caste with grazing, and it is by cattle-breeding and transport by pack-bullock that the Caran mainly now gets his living. There is an old and long obsolete connection between the Caran and the Kumbhār, or potter caste, the link being said to have been the joint trade of ass-breeding, but the relations have now passed into the stage of violent but unexplained hostility. It is possible, of course, that this misty tradition may account to some extent for the inferior position which the Caran, even when he is exclusively a bard or genealogist, occupies with reference to the Bhāt. The Caran caste is subdivided into geographical sections with numerous exogamous sub-sections. The families in permanent employ as genealogists intermarry with each other only, not as a matter of caste, but, as amongst the Jāts of the Panjab, on purely social considerations. They have thus acquired a physical appearance far superior to that of the cultivating and cattle-breeding sections of their community. The profession, however, as among the Bhāt, has gone down, and only a minority now live by it. Most of the western, or Kach, Caran live by transport on pack-bullocks. Here again their trade has suffered by the extension of railways across the desert tracts, but many of them have adapted their operations to the new order and ply along the main feeder roads to the chief stations. The Caran who are thus engaged bear a striking resemblance to the Banjara of upper India and the Dekkan in appearance, dress and customs. The Banjara of the north have, in fact, a large subdivision called Caran, and it is possible that there was of old some tribal connection between them and the Caran of the west, lost through the migration of the latter.

The Caran shares with the Bhāt the reputation of personal inviolability, and numerous cases are on record, extending even down to 1861, of their

killing one of their girls or old women, or inflicting serious, even fatal, wounds upon their own persons, in order to fix the guilt of certain acts upon those opposed to them. In earlier times, from at least the 15<sup>th</sup> century downwards, both castes were the professional securities for the performance of a contract or the repayment of a debt, and no important document of this sort would be accepted as valid without the 'dagger' and signature of a Bhaṭ or Caran at the foot of it. This practice arose, apparently, out of that of obtaining the guarantee or escort of one of these castes for every caravan or transport train from the coast across Central India. But the origin of the notion of the inviolability of the Caran is as obscure as in the case of the Bhaṭ. The Caran, it is true, has the reputation of being a violent and turbulent character, whose ghost is particularly vindictive and malevolent. The curse of a Caran, therefore, was powerful against one's enemies, and a member of the caste used to be engaged, like Balaam, to accompany the army of the Chief to battle, and curse the foe. The women of the caste, too, are reprehensibly familiar with spells and charms, and in north Gujarāt, the tombs of some of them are worshipped like those of the local goddesses. On the whole, however, the sacredness of the office of an authoritative repository of the family pedigree and achievements seems to be the more probable source of the conception.

The only other caste which it is necessary to mention under this head is that of the Dūm or Mirāsī of the Panjāb. The members of this community are both minstrels and genealogists. Their Brahmanic name of Jūm may have some relation to the former accomplishment, as the Dōm are, as stated in the preceding paragraph, to some extent, musicians. But the Dūm as they exist in the present day are far above the Dōm alike in appearance, position and attainments, though still amongst the lower classes out of communion with the peasantry and artisans. They are almost all Muslim, and the name of Mirāsī is derived from the Arabic for inheritance and may thus be taken to refer to their work as genealogists. In this capacity they are much below the Bhāṭ, and officiate chiefly in the families of the lower agricultural population and for the impure castes. Some Jāt families employ them, but the accredited genealogist for that race, strange to say, is the Saṁsi, a criminal vagrant tribe of the province, whilst the families ambitious of a rise in society engage, as above remarked, the Jagā Bhāṭ. The musical attainments of the Mirāsī are considerable. Some only sing, others play the flute, pipe, lute, cymbals and different sorts of drum. Their women also dance and sing occasionally, but only for the delectation, it is said, of patrons of their own sex. Those who are genealogists in permanent employ of a definite circle of clients hold their office hereditarily, and do not associate or intermarry with those similarly engaged among the impure castes. The profession is by no means unremunerative, especially where agricultural prosperity connotes the necessity of an improved family tree. Even in the open market, the Mirāsī is a popular and well-paid feature of every fair and large wedding. Unfortunately, the Mirāsī, like the Bhāṭ in the eastern parts of India, is a shameless blackmailer, and the refusal or inadequate requital of his demand is followed by often witty and invariably outspoken burlesques of the genealogy of the ill-advised recusant. In eastern Bengal, the Bhāṭ, who there resembles the Mirāsī rather than his own namesake of Rajputana, is said to vary his stock ridicule of the manners and customs of Europeans

with depreciatory references to the ancestry of any local magnate whose purse-strings may have been drawn too tightly on the Bard's last visitation.

§ 55. **Astrologers and Exorcists** (205,300). The importance of the horoscope, or birth-letter, and of a lucky day and hour for each domestic ceremony is so great in the eyes of the Brahmanic community that the duty of casting the one and of ascertaining the others is usually entrusted to none but a Brahman. In many cases he is maintained by the village for the purpose and remunerated out of the crops, and in most Native States the Jyōṭiṣi is an honoured official, endowed with salary and estate by the Chief. His function does not entail any separation from his sub-caste, so that this class of astrologer does not figure in the census returns. There is, however, a much lower grade in the profession, called by the same name, or rather, by its popular abbreviation, Joṣi, who is so returned, chiefly in the upper Gangetic plain and in Central India. He lives by palmistry, exorcism and omen-reading, and accepts remuneration for averting the evil influences of eclipses and of the phases of certain maleficent planets, especially Saturn, and generally pandering to pre-Āryan credulity. The subdivisions of the caste indicate, too that the Joṣi is a community of very mixed descent, and if connected at all with the Brāhman, is only one of the degraded sections. This seems to be admitted in the case of the Ḍākaut, the astrologer of the Jamnā valley and Rājputāna, who is of the Āgrohā stock, unclassified for taking to an unorthodox course of life. The Gaṇak, again, of the Brahmaputra valley, are said to have been cast out by their Bengal fellows for undertaking the duties of family-priest to the carpenter caste. The Gaṇak moved into Assam, where, through the influence they acquired as court astrologers to the Koch and Āhōm Chiefs, they settled down into a rank inferior to that of the Brahman alone. A distinction must be drawn between the Joṣi of the plains of upper India and the same caste as found in the Kumāon hills. In the latter tract the Jōṣi, whatever his position before his migration, has acquired the status of Brāhman in his present home, and intermarries with the Kanaujiyā and other sub-castes. This may be due in part to his worldly success, as for many generations the Jōṣi has almost monopolised the sweets of State appointments in Kumāon, and flourished on them. In the Dravidian country, the profession of exorcist is widely spread, owing to the prevailing demonolatry, which requires variety of treatment. The determination of a lucky day, too, probably falls to the priests of the different communities of the lower classes, and to the Brāhman in the upper. On the Malabar coast, however, there are a few small castes which appear to be somewhat specialised in these arts. The Kaṇiśan, Pāṇan and Vēlan combine exorcism not only with devil-dancing, which is the usual twin calling, but with herbalism also. Probably all three castes are descended from the hill tribes of the neighbourhood, but have long been settled in the lowlands under the protection of the Nāyar. In most parts of India there are specialists in exorcism and protective spells, though they may not have been yet formed into castes. The averter of hail, for instance, is an institution in parts of Bengal, in the lower Himālaya and in the north Dekkan. In the Kumāon tracts the duties fall to a special section of the Ḍōm. In Bengal, there seems to be a caste for the purpose, called the S'ilāri, but it is not returned at the Census. Possibly it has died out, since it is frankly admitted there that people did not think it

worth while to maintain a wizard who could only keep hail off the crops of his patron without having the power to call it down upon those of his neighbours. The Garpagari of the Maratha tracts is a distinct caste, though, like the S'itari, it is on the wane; not, however, for the same reason, as the want of confidence now felt in the exorcist is here due to his inefficiency even as a protector of the crop, without any after-thought regarding his powers of maleficence. It is worth noting, perhaps, that these exorcists of the forces of Nature must be remunerated in kind, never in cash.

§ 56. **Temple services.** a) **Priests** (695,400). In treating of the Brahman, it was mentioned that whilst the post of priest in a family of a pure caste was one which could be occupied with credit by a member of the sacerdotal order, ministration in a temple was held to be a duty only to be undertaken by a degraded, or at least, one of the lower, subdivisions of Brahmans. The distinction, it was pointed out, lies probably in the divergence of the worship of the non-Aryan deities of the existing pantheon from the old Vedic sacrifices, still held in reverence, at least in theory, by all orthodox Brahmans. There is also the risk, or perhaps the certainty, of contamination to be incurred in disposing of the offerings made in the course of these services. Notwithstanding these drawbacks, Brahmans are found to perform the necessary offices before the god in the great majority of the temples of their creed. Equally low in the estimation of the order is the Brahman who subsists upon the fees and offerings of pilgrims at the great centres of religious resort, and still lower, the Mahabrahman, who takes part in funeral rites. All these, however, are included under the general title of Brahman. Outside this designation are some small classes who claim to be Brahmans because they perform temple service, but who are recruited from the lay castes of the vicinity. The Pujari and Bhojki, of the Panjab Himalaya are cases of this kind, and, though repudiated by the Sarasvat Brahmans to whom they have attached themselves, they seem to have all the position of the order among the people to whom they minister. The Bhōjak and Sōvak of west Rajputāna, again, who have been mentioned in connection with the Banya, are held to be Brahmans, albeit degraded by their connection with the Jain worship. The real reason for the lowness of their position is surmised to be their foreign origin, of which mention was made above. The impure castes, and, in the Dravidian country, a good many of the lower agricultural castes, employ their own caste-fellows for priestly duties outside the temple, whilst a few castes, in the south, officiate for not only their own body but for other castes of similar or slightly superior rank. Generally, however, these semi-priestly castes are themselves of low rank. The Paṇḍāram, for instance, is generally considered to be a branch of the Andi, a fraternity of Tamil religious mendicants; but there is one subdivision considerably above the average of the latter class, which is educated to a certain extent, wears the sacred thread, presides over monastic and temple establishments, and officiates as priests to the great Vellalan peasantry and the castes immediately below and above it. Some of the Dasari, too, in the Telugu country, rise far above the rest, and do service in temples and with respectable families of any caste below the Brahman. The Valluvan, once the priests of the Pallava dynasties, now officiate for the Pallan and Paraiyan and have lost much of their former position by so doing. Like several low castes in various parts of India,



the Valluvan have produced a widely popular poet, Tiruvalluvan, who is said to have married into a Vellālan family. It is conjectured that the sacerdotal functions of this caste were superseded by those of the Brāhman, when the latter found his way into the Dravidian region. Now, besides their employment by the castes above mentioned, the Valluvan have to look to astrology and herbalistic medicine for their living, and here they enjoy the custom and confidence of far higher castes. In some villages, indeed, the Valluvan is on the staff, and receives his annual quota of threshed grain from each household. It may be remarked that they do not ever intermarry with the castes to which they act as priests, unless they belong to the pure section. The Tambaḷa, a small caste of temple-priests in Telingāna, hold almost the rank of Brahmans, and where they have taken to cultivation are still quite in the upper line. It is said that their name, the local rendering of Tamil, is due to their having been sent up from the south by the great reformer, Śaṅkaracarya, to labour on the Coromandel coast. As they are mostly worshippers of Ś'iva, many have joined, it is said, the Liṅgayat community in the inland districts. The true priests of the latter, however, are the Jaṅgam, a caste of considerable influence in the Karnatic. It seems to have been called into being to satisfy the desire of the converts of Basava to retain priests for their Dravidian forms of worship after they had split from the Brahmans. In the tracts where Lingvāntism is most powerful the Jaṅgam are subdivided into the usual monastic and secular sections. The former, in turn, are either stationary in monasteries, or put in charge of a circle of villages, each of which they visit in turn, imparting doctrine and counsel. In the outlying parts of the Karnatic, the Jaṅgam is not unfrequently a wandering mendicant of a religious type, living upon doles from every class of the population. The secular Jaṅgam, again, is often a trader or money-lender. The Census returns of this caste, though possibly fairly accurate in the aggregate, are defective in detail. In the south Dravidian districts, that is, the term Jaṅgam is used of any Liṅgāyat, whilst in the north on the contrary, many Jaṅgam are returned as Liṅgāyat or as Virśaiv Brahman. A small caste corresponding somewhat to the Valluvan, is found in Gujarāt and the north Dekkan, called the Gāruḍā, which serves the leather-working castes as priest. In some parts they eat with their clients, but in Gujarāt they are generally superior to the latter in education and physical appearance. From one of their subdivisions it might be surmised that they are the descendants of a superior class driven out of Rājputāna, like so many others in the west. The Gāruḍi of the Marāṭhā country is of a lower type altogether, and belongs to the Maṅg caste.

In the Panjāb, there is one caste requiring notice, the Bharāi, which, however, is often returned simply as Śekh. The Bharāi is the special guardian and ministrant of the shrine of the popular Saint Sakhi Sarvar, of the Indus. Whether he is, since his canonisation, Muslim or Brahmanist, it is difficult to judge from the crowds that throng to his tomb; but the Bharāi are of the former creed. They haunt the centre and submontane parts of the Province, and live by conducting pilgrims down to the shrine at Nigāhā, in the Derajāt. It is said that some of the Bharai have taken to music and call themselves Mirāsī. The only other occupation with which they are associated is circumcision, which rite they perform in supersession of the barber on the lower Indus. Along the Pāthān frontier, there is a body, incoherent and multifarious, which locally arrogates to

itself the title of *Ulama*, or the learned. The entrance-qualification, however, appears to be only the knowledge by rote of a sufficient number of texts of the Kuran to serve as spells or curses for the practical purposes of life. On the other hand, the term may include the highly educated *Maulvi* of the city mosque, and the *Kazi*, who may or may not be erudite in the law he administers. It is not, however, a caste, and as a functional body, enjoys as low a reputation for piety as for erudition, and is the subject of many biting proverbs along the frontier.

§ 51. *b Temple-servants* (300,500). There are certain castes in almost every part of India, but especially in the south, which are dedicated to offices within the temple other than those of actual worship. They wash the images of the god, deck it with flowers, and keep the precincts clean. Most of them have other and more secular avocations, generally connected with leaves or flowers, such as umbrella-making, the preparation of leaf-platters for Brahmanic festivals and garlands for ceremonial use. The caste most widely spread of all thus engaged is the *Mali*, or garland-maker; but as nearly the whole of the caste is in the present day occupied in gardening or agriculture, it has been reviewed already under the head of special cultivation. In Bengal there is still enough of the traditional work left to justify a separate subdivision to perform it. In other provinces, too, the growth of flowers and the making of garlands, particularly those for the temple, are the work of special bodies, but they are generally distinct from the *Mali*. Such are the *Phul-Mali*, *Phulari*, *Hûgâr*, and the like. It is still necessary to be specially brought up to the trade, lest mistakes be made which would be ruinous. One god has to be decked with flowers which are abhorrent to another; certain flowers, too, are required by convention for certain occasions, and the marriage-coronet must contain the prescribed flowers and no others. The small castes above mentioned are generally found south of the *Vindhya*, in connection with the caste of *Guraô*, which is accredited to certain temples, usually those of *Siva*, where the post is permanent and hereditary. The *Guraô* also make the leaf platters required for caste-feasts and other banquets on a large scale, a task which in upper India is performed by the *Barî*, who, however, does not serve temples. In the *Telugu* country, the *Satâni* does the work of the *Guraô* and a good deal more, for it appears that this caste was brought into being to aid the propaganda of *Râmânuja*, its patron. It is associated, therefore, more closely with religion than a mere temple servant, and acts as priest to several other castes in a good position, as well as the lower classes. In contradistinction to the *Guraô*, the *Satâni* is *Vaiṣṇava*, and those of the caste who are brought up as priests are fairly conversant with the *Puranic* authorities of their sect. Formerly, the *Satâni* called in *Brahmans* for their ceremonies, but of late their own priests have come into favour. The *Baliya* community generally employ the *Satâni*, but those who are redundant in this capacity, take to umbrella and garland making. The *Tulu* caste of *Dêvâdiga* is not found outside *Kanara*, and where not engaged in temple service, the caste has taken to cultivation and the lower grades of State service. The curious transformation of the Barber into the temple servant in *Malabar* has been already mentioned, and there are about 8,000 of the *Marayan* who combine that duty with the manipulation of the temple drums when required.

§ 58. *Dancers, Singers &c.* 135,900. That these professions should be placed immediately after those connected with temple-service is by no

means so anomalous as regards sequence as it may appear at first sight. In India, as in other oriental countries, dancing and singing are professional accomplishments or ceremonial observances, and only among some of the wilder tribes is the dance a form of private recreation. In Brāhmanic circles there are recognised dances, generally of a religious significance, danced among women, and, also, a few highly heterodox tripudiations associated with the rites of some particular sect, and ignored by the rest of the community. There are, again, the sword-dances of the Khattak and other frontier tribes, and most of the more primitive forest communities have their reel or square-dance with its traditional figures handed down as a tribal possession. With these exceptions, the dance in India is a performance by trained professionals, of a character which may be called posture-singing, or illustrating by gestures the words sung by the performer. The subject of the ode, except amongst the Muslim, is usually connected with religion or mythology. In the Dravidian region the dancing takes place within or before the temple, in honour of the god, especially of Śiva in his many forms, and the performers are dedicated to him and form part of the establishment of the temple. The women have their off-time, of course, which is spent in the practice of the ancient mystery everywhere, now as of yore, associated with professional dancing. In fact, the old Dutch travellers when introduced to these bebies, did not mince their words, but habitually refer to them under the title of "danshoer", an appellation even more applicable to the dancing castes of the north than to those in the south, since the former have no connection with religion beyond the dedication of the individual to the worship of a certain god, if she be of the Brāhmanic faith. It is worth noting that owing possibly to this connection with the popular pantheon or, as some think, to the more distant tradition of communistic marriage, the courtesan is not a degraded member of Indian society, but, like the Hetaira of Athens, is not only tolerated, but respected. There is, of course, every grade to be found amongst them, as in all countries where inequality of purse is the rule, from the ragged nomad in her filthy little reed-booth, whose musical and terpsichorean attainments are of the lowest, to the highly-trained singer of the great city, well versed in alike classical and popular poetry, whose diction is often quoted as the standard of Hindī or Urdū polite conversation. It may have been gathered from what has been stated above, that the two arts, dancing and singing, go together, and comparatively few and those only of the highest rank, sing without the plastic accompaniment. Recruited as they are from all castes, Brāhmanic and Muslim, under a number of titles, honorific or the reverse, it is not worth while to dwell upon them here otherwise than cursorily, as an ancient and recognised grade in Indian society. In upper India, alongside the functional titles of Ṭavāif, Kasbī, Nāik, and so on, there are found the semi-religious designations of Rāmjanī, Gandharp, Rās-dhārī and the lower ones of Kancan, Bēsyā, Patūriyā and so on. In the west, besides some of those above mentioned, there are the Nāikin, of the semi-religious type, and the Kalāvānt. The religious establishments referred to above are all in the south. In the Dekkan there are several of comparatively small renown and endowment, and only nine women have returned themselves under the specific name there given to them. Even in the Tamil country, where the accommodation for this class round the chief temples indicates the extent of the community in old

times, the number returned is far below the actual, since many of the girls give the name of the caste in which they were born, instead of that to which they were dedicated when they wedded the god. It is the duty of the Dasi to fan the god, present to him the sacred light, and to sing and dance before him when he is carried in procession. Owing to their Brahmanic connection, they do not consort with the Kammalan, or artisans, who belong to the Left hand, nor, of course, with the impure castes. Their sons become musicians, often of considerable skill and learning, and occasionally marry into respectable castes. The daughters follow their mother. In the Telugu country, the caste is known as Bogam or Sani, and is widely scattered in small numbers. There is only one institution of the sort common in the Tamil region. The Kanarese Devali are mostly ascribed to a god or to temples, as in the south. Both here and in Telingana, the recruits are from the Palli, and Holeya, but on the coast, the breed is apparently from a fairer stock, like the Tiyan, or bastards of the Havik. All these dancing and singing castes have their strict rules about initiation, conduct, inheritance, and the observance of caste regulations, enforced through a caste Council, or Pancayat, like the larger communities.

#### D. Urban Castes.

§ 59. The majority of the castes coming under this head are here placed not on account of any ethnic distinction between them and those already described, but merely in consideration of the generally urban character of their occupations. Most of them, indeed, are but offshoots of larger bodies still unaffected by the influences of the city, and are finding their way back to the village as communication grows easier and the convenience they represent gets to be the object of a more effective demand. It should be understood, therefore, that these castes are not entirely confined to the towns, though it is there that they find at present the main field for their labours. They may be conveniently grouped as shopkeepers, artisans and domestic servants.

§ 60. **Grocers &c.** (₹25,000). Under this head come the retailers not only of spices and condiments but of perfumery also, the functional name of the Banya who sells the former in one part of the country being the same as that of the extractor and seller of scents in another. The latter is but scantily represented in the Census returns, and is usually a Muslim. The large proportion of Brahmanists coming under this title may be taken to be grocers returning their professional, in place of their caste, name. The Gandhi or Gandhabanik of Bengal is generally a druggist as well as the vendor of condiments, and when he sells sandal-wood and other fragrant articles which enter largely into domestic worship, he rises in position. The whole caste, indeed, pays homage in the spring to Gandhesvari, the goddess of perfume, a manifestation of Durga. The Gandhabanik also sells drugs, and is reputed to be well acquainted with all local medicinal products. A few take out licenses for the sale of opium and intoxicating preparations of hemp, but the actual sale of such articles is left to a Muslim assistant. The grocer of the upper Gangetic region generally belongs to the Kasar- or Kesar-vanī or Kasaundhan castes, both somewhat low branches of the great Banya order. The latter derives its name from dealings in brass or bell-metal, and the former probably from saffron. Both now sell grain, salt and other commodities which their Bengal con-



frères avoid. Both employ the same caste of Brāhman and follow to a great extent the teachings of Rāmananda, and in Bihar, the Nanakpanthi doctrines. In the Dekkan and west, the Gāndhī is not a separate caste, but merely a petty trader of the Vania caste. Subsidiary to this group may be mentioned the Kūnjra, or green-grocer of the north. It is not a caste, properly so called, except, perhaps, in Oudh and along the upper Ganges, where the sellers of vegetables are all Muslim and have banded themselves into an apparently endogamous community. It was stated in connection with the growers of the bitel-vine that the importance of the "biḍ" or "biṛā" in society was held to entitle those connected with it to a quite respectable position, above that indicated by the ancestry or wealth of the castes in question. The Tamboli is the caste which sells the leaf in almost every province except in the south. In Bengal and Bihār, the caste is supposed to be connected with the Banyā and in the Dekkan with the Kunbi, but in upper India it appears to be a branch of the Barāi or grower of the vine, and in some places the latter sells the leaf he grows. This, however, is exceptional, but the names of the subdivisions of the two castes indicate former relationship if not identity. Occasionally the Tāmboli extends his dealings to snuff and tobacco, and even to grain and lime. In Bengal some of them hold land, but cultivate through hired labour. In those tracts it ranks lower than up the river, where it sticks to the shop, and is considered equal to the middle-class peasant in position.

§ 61. **Grain-parchers and Confectioners** (1,645,200). Both these are important functionaries in town life in Bengal and upper India, but are in comparatively little request south of the Vindhya, where the diet and rules connected therewith are different. The origin of these castes is not clear, except in the Panjāb, where both the Bhaṛbhūnjā, or grain-parcher, and the Bhaṭhiārā, or public cook, are of the Jhinvar, or water-bearing caste. The Bhaṭhiārā is only found in the Muslim tracts, except in the larger cities, since the Brāhmanic rules of living do not admit of the common oven. The grain-parcher is of more mixed origin. In the north, one of the sub-castes is connected with the Kāyasth, and the same relationship appears in the communities of Bihār and the Dekkan. On the other hand, the Bhaṛbhūnjā is often held to be only an elevated branch of the Kahār, a view that coincides with the known facts further west, and is corroborated by the existence of sub-castes connecting the community with the Goṇṛiā, a fishing caste of quite a different part of the country, and with the Kāndū, the sweetmeat maker. In Bihār, in fact, the Bhaṛbhūnjā, is considered to be a sub-caste of the Kāndū. Towards Agra, however, the latter takes a higher place, and is almost equal to the Banyā, exclusively engaged in the traditional pursuit of confectionery; but of its numerous sub-castes, some, like the Goṇṛhī, work in stone, and others parch grain, like the Bhaṛbhūnjā. It seems probable, therefore, that both the castes originated amongst the fishing and porter community, and have been reinforced by occupational subdivisions formed locally to meet a demand for their services. The Halvai, another caste of confectioners, is entirely distinct, and, in upper India, is often Muslim. It is a composite body with a good many endogamous sub-castes. One of these shares the name of the Gōḍiā, or Gūṛiā, the confectioner caste of Orissa, though without any other connection. In Bengal, the Mayarā caste is like the Kāndū of the north, recruited from various bodies and is subdivided, accordingly, into both Brahmanic gōtra and totemistic exo-

gamous sections. Some of these castes have betaken themselves to husbandry, but in that capacity, curiously enough, they will have nothing to do with the cultivation of the sugarcane or the preparation of molasses, the stock-in-trade of the rest of the caste. In connection with this group of castes it may be remarked that the upper and middle classes of Brahmanical society, wherever the caste-system is strictly maintained on the northern Indian model, are prohibited from eating anything but parched grain or sweetmeats when on a journey away from their domestic cooking-place; and this rule may have a good deal to do with the consideration which is allowed to communities of such mixed or dubious origin as those which purvey these convenient provisions.

§ 62. **Butchers** (701,800). No such credit, however, is attached to the sale of meat, which, naturally, is chiefly in the hands of a flesh-eating community like the Muslim. It is not to be supposed, from this that Brahmanists are universally either vegetarians or fish-eaters. Customs differ in this respect in different parts of the country and amongst different castes. Beef and pork, indeed, are eaten by none but the lowest of the community, but in the middle classes, especially in the Dravidian country, the consumption of mutton and goat is considerable, though the mediation of a professional salesman, except in the towns, is comparatively rare. In Vedic times, the Ārya were apparently accustomed to eat meat, and acquired the vegetarian habit as they got acclimatised to the tropics. Nowadays, the only butcher caste not Muslim is the Khāṭik, and this community, though breeding pigs in the north, only slaughters sheep and goats, the skins of which are tanned by its household. In the south, the Khaṭik is merely the professional title of the Muslim mutton butcher. The Kasai, or Qasāb, of upper India is almost exclusively Muslim, and in the Panjab is merely a functional branch of the Teli, or oilman. Further east there are subdivisions, and that which deals in mutton holds itself above the beef-butcher. This last is, of course, anathema to the Brahmanic world, and in some places is "boycotted" by tradesmen, so that it is obliged to make its purchases through the intermediary of one of the lower Brāhmanic castes.

§ 63. **Pedlars and Glassworkers** (424,100). There is a certain connection between these two apparently incongruous occupations. In the north, especially, there are several small castes which go round with beads, glasswork, bangles, and so on, which, if not made by themselves, come from the hand of those nearly related to them. Others deal in haberdashery, small hardware, soap and mirrors. Even if they were not castes at the outset, they all tend to become such, with subsections and regulations as to marriage and the like, independent of the communities to which they originally belonged. The Bisatī, a Muslim body, is an example of this tendency. The Ramaiya, or Bhaṭra, of the east Panjab, however, seems to be a true caste, hailing from Marvād or the neighbourhood, and having conceded to it the rank of a low Brahman. It is allowed to wear the thread and to take offerings at eclipses. Otherwise, the Ramaiya tell fortunes and invoke upon almsgivers blessings which have the reputation of being effective. They are by tradition petty traders, and in that capacity travel far and wide, even south of the Vindhya. The caste is much scattered and is only found in strength in the Bijnor district of Rohilkhand, far from its original home. But the Ramaiya always regard themselves as natives of the Panjab, and most of them are Sikhs by religion, though

employing Brāhmanas as priests and Brāhmanist barbers in daily life, thus showing a considerable laxity in their faith. The Maṇihār is strictly the maker of spangles for the adornment of glass bangles, but in some places, as in the Panjāb, the caste make the bangles themselves. The Cūṛihār, who follows the same trade, is a separate community, but both travel about with their goods and do not keep shop. Both, too, are for the most part Muslim. The Kancār, who also works in glass, takes the place of these castes in the Dekkan and west, and the Lākḥērā, a northern caste, makes the same sort of ornaments in lac. In the Dravidian region, the corresponding caste is the Gāzula, a sub-caste of the Balija, of low position. In the Tamil country it is called Vaḷaiyal, and is taken as a subdivision of the Kavarai, the Balija colony of those parts. The Cuḍigār, generally a Muslim, is probably the Cūṛihār of the north settled in the Dekkan. On the Orissa coast is a caste called Pātra, or Patōr, which peddles silken necklets and cords, like the Paṭvā in other parts. Finally, under this head may be included the makers of conch armlets, who are a caste only in Bengal, where they are called S'ankhāri. It appears that through the Subarnabanik they have some connection with the goldsmith castes; but they deal exclusively in the armlets made from the conchs brought from the Gulf of Manar. Similar armlets are used in other parts of India, but they do not seem to be made by a special caste.

§ 64. **Artisans.** a) **Tailors** (867,800). Throughout upper India the tailor's craft is exercised by a composite body, nearly half of which is Muslim, recruited, judging from the titles of the subdivisions, from many sources, not all of the lowest. In the Panjab the Darji is merely a functional name, and in each large city the tailoring body is governed by a craft-guild. If any caste can be said to produce the tailor more than another it is the Dhōbi or washerman. In the Gangetic region the Darji regulates his life on the model of the upper Brahmanic castes, and one of the principal sub-castes bears the name of Kāyasth. But the caste is not popular, any more than it used to be in Europe, and is the subject of similar depreciatory proverbs. Its work is badly paid, but the Darji rarely looks out for more lucrative employment. The general style of dress amongst the peasantry in the greater part of India renders the craft unnecessary, so the caste is mostly congregated in the cities. It is subdivided according to the general nature of the work undertaken, and is then split up into more minute sections. The repairer and darter is at the bottom, and amongst the Muslim, tent-making stands high, as being the occupation of Ibrahim (Abraham), the patron of the craft. Turban-making, too, is honourable. In the west, indeed, where the latter article of attire is more elaborate than in the north, and each caste has its own distinctive form of head-gear, the turban-folder is a separate community, and ranks high amongst the Darji. In the Dekkan the S'impī is often a travelling piece-goods dealer, going from village to village with his pack upon his pony. He also traffics in small pecuniary advances, and this is perhaps the reason for his figuring in bad company in the village rhymes. One of the popular religious teachers of India, Namdēv, belonged to this caste, and several of the sections of the Darji and similar castes are named after him. It seems as if the Dekkan tailor were more allied to the lower trading classes than to the rest of his craftsmen, and certainly he follows the traditional employment less than any of them. The Gujarat Darji, too, seems to have sprung from one of the lower classes of traders

of west Rajputana, to which locality he claims to belong. Like the S'impi, he lives after the manner of the upper middle classes, and is strict in his religious observances, though alleged to be addicted, like the goldsmith, to helping himself too freely to some of the material entrusted to him to make up. In the Dravidian districts there is no special caste of this sort, the tailors in the cities being all Muslim. The introduction of sewing-machines, and the growth of the fashion of wearing cut-out garments have tended to the advantage of the town Darji, and even in villages the machine is often to be seen installed amid surroundings of apparently the most incongruous simplicity.

§ 65. b) **Dyers and Calenderers** (495,000). The calico-printers, calenderers and dyers appear to be connected remotely with the Darji castes, except in the Panjab, where the Chipa is an offshoot of the Dhoba or washerman, who occasionally does the work of dyeing in madder, though he leaves indigo to the Muslim Rangrej. Elsewhere, the Chipa stands higher, and in upper India claims to be descended from some Rajput or kindred tribe in Malva. The Bhausar of Gujarat, too, admits his connection with Rajputana; but, though not disowning the Chipa of Agra, asserts his origin to have been through a Vania caste of the west, and will not acknowledge relationship with the Chipa of his present province. The Bhausar, like the Vaniâ, has a Jain as well as a Mahesri, or Brahmanic, sub-caste, and lives much on a par with the trading classes. In the Ganges valley a good many of the Chipa are followers of Namdev, the Dekkan S'impi, a fact which indicates something more than merely sectarian sympathies, considering the restricted social field of the acceptance of these doctrines. The Rangrej, Rangari, or Nilari, workers in indigo, are chiefly Muslim in the north. In the Panjab this is due, as above indicated, to the abhorrence of the Brahmanist of those parts for the unlucky colour, blue. In Bihar there is not this prejudice, and the Lila works in the local material. In the Maratha country, too, the women wear blue in preference to any other colour, but here, again, the dyer is usually a Muslim. In Gujarat, the taste is in favour of more varied colours, and the Bhausar works impartially in all, except indigo, which is the monopoly of the Gajjara sub-caste. The Muslim engaged in the occupation began, no doubt, as a functional body, but are now, it is said, closing their caste to outsiders, and keeping to their own sectional divisions. In the Dravidian country there seem to be no special dyeing castes, the work being done in the Telugu country by Maratha Rangari. Plain white with a simple coloured border is the usual colour worn by the women in both the Tamil districts and in lower Bengal.

§ 66. c) **Cotton-scutchers** 1760,600. Those who follow the occupation of cleaning cotton are mostly Muslim, under the functional title of Penja, Pinjari, Dhuniya, Behna, or even the Persian, Nadaf. They are mostly converts from Brahmanic castes like the Tel or oil-pressers, and those who have remained in their former creed follow the teachings of Namdev, the S'impi, like the Tailors and Dyers, and in the Panjab, the Dhoba. In the north, where the calling has become the work of a caste, those who do not engage in it keep shops for the sale of haberdashery, spangles, bangles, caste-marks and so on. The Muslim, as in similar cases of other castes, have not altogether abandoned their Brahmanic customs or worship, and follow the traditions of their neighbourhood in this respect.

§ 67. d) **Distillers and spirits-sellers** 1,725,000. The traditional connection of these castes with the provision of a forbidden article, places



them very low in society, in fact, little above the oilman. On the other hand, since the regulation of the liquor trade has been undertaken by the State the restriction upon sales has thrown a good many of the caste on to other occupations in which they have prospered far more than if they had kept to distillation. In the wholesale trade in piece-goods, timber, salt, etc., the Bengal *Suñri* is said to have reached quite the top of the tree, and being ambitious of a commensurate rank in society, is forming a separate caste calling itself *S'āhā*, or *Sāha*, in order to sever itself as far as possible from the branch which still deals in liquor and serves in the State distilleries, or takes licenses for the sale of intoxicants. Others of the caste engage in the boating trade, but will only ply on craft which are manned exclusively by their own comrades. In spite of the rise in their worldly circumstances, the *Suñri* have been unable to conquer the prejudice against them, and have to maintain barbers and washermen of their own, since the *Nāi* and *Dhōbi* decline to serve them. Even the *Bhūnmālī*, who will sweep for them, refuses to accept food from their hand. In upper India there is the same subdivision of the *Kalāl* caste: those who have taken to trade severing themselves from those who stick to the traditional calling. But the *Kalāl* in Bengal will make, but not sell, liquor, whereas in the north the caste does both. In all probability, in Bengal the castes are both composite, created as the need for their services became pressing, whilst in the *Panjāb* and its neighbourhood the caste is older and more homogeneous. The Sikh connection of the *Kalāl* or *Kalvār*, in the *Panjāb*, gave the caste a great lift, and one of the most powerful leaders of that faith, before the rise of *Ranjit Singh*, belonged to the *Kalāls* of *Āhlū*, and laid the foundations of the well-known State of *Kapurthāla*. Hence a good many of the *Kalvār* of the province use the title of *Āhlūvālīā* for their caste. On the other hand, in the west and central *Panjāb* they have preferred to throw in their lot with the *Pathān*, and have elongated their name into *Kakkezai*. The trading branch in those parts deals in boots and shoes, bread and vegetables, articles which the ordinary *Khatri* considers beneath him. In the south, the *Kalāl* is found in comparatively small numbers as a distiller, but here he has to compete with the local *Parsi* in both making and selling spirits.

§ 68. e) **Domestic servants** (698,800). The majority of the castes which traditionally engage in service about the houses of those above them belong, as already stated, to the fishing and porter communities, whose touch does not contaminate. The households of the Christian or Muslim, again, are on a different plane, and must be served by Muslim or members of the impure castes. The water-bearers, too, who ply in the streets or from house to house, irrespective of caste, are usually converts to Islam, or of the fisher caste. If the former, they are known generally as *Bihīṣṭī*, and form a caste of their own, with functional subdivisions, according to the water-bag they use or the beast of burden they employ. In some parts of India, again, there is a caste which lives by rice-pounding for large families, a work which elsewhere is done by the women of the family. The small community of *Kūṭa*, in *Rōhilkhaṇḍ*, and of *Gōla*, in *Gujarāt*, are examples of these, but both are probably branches of some larger body, the *Kūṭā*, perhaps, of the *Banjārā*, and the *Gōlā* certainly of a *Rajputāna* caste. The castes which distinctively belong to the group under consideration, however, are those which have grown up under the protection of the households they serve, and in most cases are in practice inseparable

from them. The Rājput families, for instance, used to receive the daughters of lower castes around them, bring them up in domestic servitude, and practically own the offspring resulting from the relationship. The link was in some cases closer than in others, and the males were allowed to marry outside the household, especially in the Dravidian region. But the bastards usually became a caste by themselves, living on the bounty of their protector and employed in duties about his estate or Court. The Gōla and Cākār of Rājputana are of this class, though, as just remarked, some of the former have moved south and set up for themselves in Gujarāt as rice-pounders. The Khavās of the western peninsula are of the same origin and position as the Gōlā, but rank considerably above the latter, and are employed in posts of confidence which give them much influence in the neighbourhood. The girls serve the Rājputnī, and some of them are generally included as part of the dowry when their young mistress is married off. In Orissa, the Khandāit keep Cāsā girls, and the offspring ranks according to the caste of the father, as Khandāit, Kāyasth, etc., the whole body being known as Śāgirdpeśā, with endogamous sub-castes determined as above. In Bihār, too, there are corresponding communities which are gradually forming themselves into separate castes. In Eastern Bengal there is a larger caste of this sort, known by the non-committal title of S'udra or S'udir, or, in some parts of the province as Ghulam or Bhaṇḍārī. They are descended from comparatively low castes which sold themselves to the Kāyasth, a relationship which, tacitly though illicitly still subsists. The caste is nominally endogamous, though amongst families which are still attached to Kāyasth households intermarriage with members of the latter caste is not uncommon, but the title of S'udra is dropped in the next generation in favour of that of Kāyasth. In the south, the Telugu Velama and landlords of other castes have a similar institution, the results of which are known as Khāsa, or private property, and are crystallising into a caste. In the south Tamil country, the Tottiyān have families on their estates which are already a caste, known as the Parivāram, the members of which cannot marry without the consent of their lord. In this case, however, recruits are taken from Paraiyan and other low castes. The Kōtari of Kanara, also domestic servants in local families, are apparently of the Baṇṭa caste originally, though now severed owing to their connection with the landed interest. It must be remembered in connection with all these domestic classes that the status of slavery in which they originally dwelt no longer exists; nevertheless, as has been remarked above with regard to the predial serfs, the tie between them and the family they serve retains a great deal of its former character, and is perpetuated voluntarily by both personal attachment to the household and the benefits derived from the protection afforded, and also the general tendency of Indian communities to look upon what has once been as pre-ordained and hereditary. The position they hold is recognised and established, and in their eyes there is nothing to be gained by abandoning it for another, independent but precarious.

### E. Nomadic Castes.

§ 69. **Carriers** (897,800). The two great divisions into which this group naturally falls are those of the pastoral tribes and the Gipsies. The bulk of the former have been already mentioned in connection with the function of providing the vast number of cattle required by the village

community for the plough and for milking. These, for the most part, are either stationary, or, when they move, merely camp for a few months of the dry season on recognised grazing grounds not far from their village. The Cāraṇ, mentioned in connection with the duties of Bard and Genealogist, is, undoubtedly a nomad in some of its sections, and, in this respect, it shares the habits of the Banjārā, to whom it is probably akin. The latter, with its branch known as the Lavaṇā, Lambhāni, Lambāḍi or Labāṇā, is the great bullock-dealer and carrier by pack-animal for the whole of upper India, and colonies of it have settled in the Dekkan and as far south as Mysore. The use of bullocks as a means of transport is an ancient custom in India but it received its great impetus from the Muslim invaders, who engaged large gangs of Banjārā to accompany their forces from north to south. Similarly, the British armies in their earlier campaigns trusted to the Banjārā trains for their commissariat and forage supplies, and found the Nāik, or gang-leaders, fully up to the work and worthy of confidence. It is not certain how the Banjārā came to be settled in Rohilkhand and its neighbouring Tarāi, but their own tradition is that they belong to north-west Rājputāna, and were driven out of their native country. They also once settled in Oudh, but were displaced by Rājputs. In their present capacity, however, they emerged into notice from their Tarāi home. The titles of their subdivisions, which are very numerous, indicate in some instances, a desert origin, a hypothesis which is borne out by their appearance. They are usually a tall, sinewy race, their women especially being remarkable for their powerful physique. Their dress, too, is that of the west rather than of Hindūstān, and one of their sub-castes bears the distinctively western appellation of Cāraṇ. The Lavāṇa, again, another section, indicates by its connection with salt a trade from the coast or Sāmbhar lake. The colonies above referred to appear to have been left in the south after expeditions by various Muslim leaders across the continent to the Dekkan and Karnatic. The settlers seem to have made no attempt to regain the north, but acquired land, and to some extent adopted the vernaculars of their neighbours. It is said, however, that the primitive customs and beliefs of the tribe are more carefully maintained by the Dekkan than by the North-country Banjārā. Other branches are found in Central India and the Panjāb. One section has been converted to Islam, under the name of Turkiyā, a title which has led, by one of the humours of the Census, to its being numbered amongst the Osmanli and other Turks, though the farthest region to which it ascribes its origin is Mūltān. In the Panjāb, too, a good many Banjārā are called Sikhs, but this refers to the creed of Nānak, rather than to the more exclusive doctrines of Guru Govind. Nānak, indeed, is one of the names most revered amongst the Banjārā even as far as the Dekkan. In upper India some of the tribe have settled down to trade and money-lending. The Vanjārī of the Marāṭhā country, too, are to a great extent cultivators, and for some generations have been scarcely distinguishable from their Kunbi neighbours. The traditional calling of the tribe has been greatly curtailed by the extension of railway communication, but a good business is still done, especially where it can be combined with the rearing and sale of stock to the peasantry, as in Oudh and upper India generally. In the tracts where the gangs are organised for travel, the old system of Tāṇḍā, or gang-circuits is retained, and no Tāṇḍā is allowed to journey over the sphere allotted to another. In the Dekkan, indeed, the partition is said

to be not unconnected with predatory excursions by the lower class of Banjara. The Lavāṇa, under its various designations, is sometimes treated as a separate caste, and is not often found alongside of the Banjāra. But it appears to be nothing more than one of the older divisions of the main community, which has kept to the west and south. In the Karnatic, for instance, the title Banjara is unknown, and the Lambāḍi, or Lambhani, occasionally called Sukali, pursues its avocation alone, though on a lower plane than his comrade in the north. He maintains, however, his reputation as a cattle-doctor, as well as that of an expert in sorcery and witchcraft. This last attribute is acquired, it is said, in the course of a wandering life, exposed to all weathers in jungles and other unhealthy localities. Strange diseases make their appearance only to be accounted for by the agency of witchcraft, and the old women of the Tāṇḍa, accordingly, go in considerable risk of their lives. In compensation, perhaps, the Banjara is the only caste in which the women are said habitually to take the big walking-staff to their husbands. There is a small caste, the Thōri, which performs in the lower Himālaya the duties of carriage undertaken in the plains by the Banjāra or Lavāṇa. They are connected with the latter, and apparently ply their trade in the same tracts in north Rajputana, of which tract they say they are natives. But there is another caste of the same name which is allied to the Ahēri, if not identical with them, and these are altogether lower in rank and pursuits, being mostly fowlers, or at best, mat-makers, along the Indus. In Central India and the north Dekkan, even as far as Mysore, there are still a few bands of the once noted Peṇḍhari freebooters, now engaged like Banjāra in the carrying trade. Originally, the Peṇḍhari were no more than a collection of all sorts of foreign Muslim disbanded from the Delhi army, and linked together for the common purpose of raiding villages and travellers. They are now a small caste by themselves, and give little or no trouble to the police. They have a Chief who rules a small State in Mālva, but there is no longer any bond between him and the wandering gangs.

§ 70. **Shepherds and Woolworkers** (4,265,600). These two occupations go together, and are exercised by several communities of considerable numerical importance. Their social rank varies a good deal, but, in spite of alleged descent from the Jādav family of Mathura which some of them claim, they stand, on the whole, lower than the breeders of horned cattle. There are, however, exceptions, such as the Gaḍḍi of the Panjāb Himalaya, who are of the same stock as the Khatri, and rank but little below the Hill Rajputs. They are admittedly wellborn, and state that they were driven from northern Rājputāna by the Muslim and took refuge in the Kangra and Chamba hills. Like all the shepherd classes, they weave the wool of their herds, both sheep and goats, into strong homespun and blankets. They are also credited with being very skilful and industrious cultivators of the upland regions affected by them. They have no connection with the caste of the same name along the Jamnā, which is Muslim and a branch of the Ghosi, mentioned above amongst the cattle-breeding castes. The chief shepherd caste of the Ganges valley is the Gaḍariya, or Gageri, as it is called in Bihar. In that Province it ranks higher than in the west, but its home is alleged to be in the latter, and some of its divisions derive their origin from Marāṭhā shepherd clans who came north through Malva and Gwalior. One of the chief shrines at which the caste worships is in the last named State. The name of the caste is said to come



from the Sanskrit name of the country, Gandhāra (or Kandahār) from which the animal was said to have been introduced into India. Judging from physical appearance, however, the Gaḍariyā and, except the Gaḍḍi, the shepherd castes generally, have much more Kōl or Dravidian blood in them than the western cattle-breeder. The Dhangar of the Marāṭha country, indeed, is by some identified with the Dhāngar, or Orāon, of the eastern portion of the Central Belt, a large tribe which is thought, mainly on linguistic grounds, to have pushed its way up north from the Karnatic. Even in the present day, too, the Dhangar build their shrines in the same way and of the same sort of unhewn stones as the Kuṛubar of the Karnatic, a once dominant tribe of the south, to which belonged the Kadamba dynasties of Banavāsi in Kanara and the Pallava dynasties of the Tamil country. The Dhangar are now, however, a Marāṭhi-speaking community, hardly to be distinguished from their Kunbi neighbours. The Holkar Chief of Indore belongs to this caste, and still enjoys hereditary grazing rights in parts of the Dekkan and some of the best of Śivaji's celebrated "Māvali" troops were Dhangar. Some of the Dhangar return themselves as Hātkar, a title for which more than one definition is available. In some cases, as in the south Dekkan, the Hātkar may by now be a subcaste, as those who use the name are almost all blanket weavers, whereas the Dhangar does not always make up his own material. The derivation of the caste title is uncertain. It has been connected with "dhan" wealth, or cattle-dealing, an occupation which a few of them still follow in the south, though most devote themselves to sheep and goats. In those parts, it should be mentioned in connection with the above derivation, the peasant habitually refers to his cattle as Dhan, or Lakṣmī, that is, the pecunia, or wealth par excellence. The name of the Kuṛubar, too, is used for sheep in Kanarese. In the south, the caste is called Kuṛumban. There are two sections; the pastoral and the Kāḍu, or Jungle, Kuṛubar. The latter are hunters and dwellers on the outskirts of the Nilgiri and other forest ranges, and are still in a very unsettled condition. They are probably the remnants left behind when the Kuṛubar of the open country swept down towards the south-east, and took to cultivation. Even now, the shepherd sections have elaborate rites and forms of worship alien to those of the rest of the villagers, and are regarded as not quite assimilated into the community. The Tamil shepherd is the Iḍaiyan or those who live by the "middle" group of the village lands, that is, the pasture. By some of the modern members of the caste the name is derived from Jādav, connecting them with Mathurā and the Kṛṣṇa legend. Unfortunately for this tradition, the names of their subdivisions in some cases connect them with the Paraiyan. Their present rank, however, is far above that of the latter, and they are received by respectable castes, in view, it is stated, of their use in the provision of clarified butter, a pure and popular article in the household. The Bharvād of Gujarāt, belongs, apparently, to the Mer, one of the derelicts of a Scythian inroad, which left them in Sindh and the west of Rājputāna. This caste shares with the Khadvā Kaṇbi the peculiarity of celebrating its marriages only at long intervals, such as 10, 15 or even 20 years. The occasion, as may be reasonably supposed, is one of prolonged and uproarious revelry, mingled with elaborate ceremonial, the details of which are doubtless of considerable ethnological interest. The Bharvād is also connected with the Rābārī, already mentioned as the

camel-breeder of Rājputana. They worship goddesses, especially Matā, under various manifestations, and have the usual reputation of wanderers for remarkably potent spells and charms, which ensures them respect. Nearly all these castes, north and south, are the subject of proverbs commenting upon the stupidity of their men and the slovenliness or dirt of their women. The last attribute may be due to the practice of wearing homespun woollen garments, the durability of which exceeds the means or desires of the wearer for purification. In addition to their dealings in woollen fabrics and, amongst some castes, the provision of sheep and goats for slaughter, the shepherd earns a good deal by the sale of the manure of his flock. In upper India it is the practice to sweep the place where the latter was penned for the night, and sell the results. In the south, the utilisation of the product is more complete, and an occupant pays the shepherd for penning for so many nights upon the sites selected for the purpose.

§ 71. **Earthworkers and Well-sinkers** (1,284,300). Socially speaking, there is a noteworthy gap between the pastoral castes and the rest of the nomads, of whom the navvies or earthworkers by profession stand first. Indeed, except for their dirty habits and their addiction to rats and other unclean food, these last would occupy the place to which their skill and industry entitle them. They are practically of one origin under various titles. In the Dravidian country, where they are most numerous, they are called *Oṭṭan* in Tamil, and *Vaḍḍar* in Telugu and Kanarese. It is by the name of *Oḍ* or *Oḍiā* that they are known north of the Dekkan, up to the Panjāb. The derivation usually accepted in the south is from *Oriya*, formerly *Ōḍra*, and now *Orissa*, as it was from that region that these gangs are said to have first emanated. Their appearance shows that they belong to the darker race, and their language, though modified by distance into a variety of local dialects, has a Telugu basis. In the south, the *Vaḍḍar* are generally found in two subdivisions, which do not eat together or intermarry. The first, and higher section are the *Kallu*, or stone quarriers, who are stationary, and abide by their quarries. The others, called *Maṇṇu*, or earthy, *Vaḍḍar*, are migratory, and seek jobs upon large undertakings, working together in their own gangs, by the piece, in the manipulation of which standard they show marvellous resource and ingenuity. They are adepts with their large spades, and no unskilled labour can touch them in the output, either on the flat or in well-sinking. The *Oḍiā* reached the Panjāb through Rājputāna, and seem to have gradually worked their way up by stages, until they found a supply of work which maintains them throughout the year. Thus they do not, like many of the migratory tribes, return to their native country, but settle in the Province. In the upper parts of the Jamnā valley, for instance, they seem to have given up their traditional pursuit and taken to weaving coarse cotton wrappers, with a little cultivation thrown in. Here, too, they have assimilated the local religion, and with the exception of a few details and ritual, do not keep up their own peculiar customs. Amongst other refinements, they have raised the standard of their diet, and abjure pork, one of their favourite meats in the south. In the Panjāb a good many have been converted to Islām, especially those on quarry work. There is one other caste which shares with the *Oḍiā* the work of the navvy, viz. the *Bēldār*, or the wielder of the *Bēl*, or mattock. This caste too, works at both stone and earth, and it seems probable that it is a branch of the

Ōḍiā, detached locally, for the Bēldār of Bihār and Oudh has an Ōḍ sub-caste, and also eats rats. In the Panjāb, too, the two communities are considered to be identical, Bēldār being merely a functional title. On the other hand, in Bihār and its neighbourhood it is thought that the Bēldār is a branch of the Nūniyā, or saltpetre-maker, which, in turn, is an offshoot of the labouring caste of the Bind. The Bēldār of Bengal works to a great extent in the coal-mines. Like the Ōḍiā, he carries on his head the earth excavated, and will not degrade himself by putting the basket upon his back or shoulder. The Kōṛa, on the contrary, his only rival in this class of work, despises the Bēldār for not using the shoulder-pole and carrying two baskets at once. All the same, the Bēldār holds the higher position and employs a better class of Brāhman. The Kōṛa, or Khairā, a sub-tribe of the Muṇḍā race, is closer to his tribal associations, and the Brāhmans who minister to this caste are put out of communion by their kind. A few other castes have taken to earth-work as their profession, but they are chiefly small subdivisions of a larger tribe, such as the Bāvariyā, who traditionally follow other callings.

§ 72. **Knife-Grinders etc.** (37,000). There are a few small castes which may be fairly termed travelling artisans rather than gipsies, since there is no stigma attached to them personally nor is their calling held to be a mere cover for criminal means of gain. The Ṣaiqalgar, or Ṣiklīgar, for example, is a Muslim caste which travels throughout the open season grinding knives and scissors, and at other times plies in the cities. A subdivision undertakes the care of razors. In old times the Ṣaiqalgar was the armourer and polisher of weapons, but he is now in sadly reduced circumstances. The Ghisāḍi is a small Brāhmanic caste of the Dekkan, corresponding to the Ṣaiqalgar but of lower origin, probably from Gujarat. The Khūmrā is another small Muslim caste of upper India the function of which is to quarry and sell the querns or millstones for domestic use. They are hewn at the quarry and hawked about on pack-animals. The roughening of the face of the stone after it has been in use a long time is in Central India and the Dekkan, the work of another caste, the Tākāri or Tākankar, Brāhmanist by faith and nomad by habit. The Khūmrā's conduct is above reproach, but the Tākāri is said to utilise the time he spends squatting on the premises where he is employed in scrutinising the extent and disposition of the moveable property of the household, with a view to a further visit by night, for its removal. The caste is affiliated to the great tribe of wandering hunters, called Bāvārī or Vāghrī, to be mentioned later, and seems to have entered the Dekkan from Gujarāt or Central India, as its members keep aloof from the Pārdhī, or hunting tribes of the south, and speak a dialect resembling Gujarati.

§ 73. **Bamboo-Workers** (295,200). The making of mats, brushes and weavers' combs is an occupation associated with a gipsy life, not only in India but wherever these nomadic tribes have established themselves, and generally connotes an inclination towards burglary or at least petty larceny. In the east, moreover, the girls of the castes in question are usually engaged in ministering to the sexual pleasures of the lower classes and even of those of the upper who dare to run the risk of excommunication from their caste. There is a more or less definite line drawn, however, in India between these castes and those, equally low and impure, who devote themselves exclusively to working in bamboo, a plant which in several cases has become the totem of the whole tribe, and is wor-

shipped accordingly at the annual caste gatherings. With the exception of the Turī of Bengal, who are a branch of the great Muṇḍa tribe, most of the cane-workers of eastern and northern India belong to the Dom. But, as has been already mentioned, the subdivisions which have taken to this work are generally settled on the outskirts of villages, not wandering like the rest, and give themselves the name of Bāṣphōrā, Bāṣor, or otherwise, in token of their profession. In upper India they admit outsiders into their community after payment of scot and submission to initiation. In Bengal, the Bāṣphōrā are said to be derived from the Pāṣṇī, or fishing tribe of the Dom. The Turī just mentioned are practically a functional branch of the Muṇḍa, and keep up their tribal exogamous customs and divisions, worshipping the tribal gods under Brāhmanic auspices, and with some regard for Brāhmanic precepts as to feeding with other castes. The Dharkar of the south Ganges valley are also not far removed from the forest tribe, but have settled round villages, and employ the Baigā priests, or, at best, the Ojhā, a degraded Brāhman of non-Āryan origin. They are considered a much less settled and civilised community than the Bāṣphōrā Dom, but are credited with similar descent. In the Dekkan and south the Burūḍ and Mēdar are similar castes, some of which are settled, others wander during the open season and settle near villages for the rains. The Mēdar are chiefly found in the eastern Telugu districts, and claim to be Oriya by origin. They have subdivisions which never wander, and are gradually asserting themselves to be Balija, employing Brāhmans and prohibiting their widows from remarrying. The Burūḍ also are of Telugu or Kanarese origin, and where settled in the Dekkan are often Liṅgāyats. In the Tamil country the corresponding caste is called Vedakkāran, and is probably an offshoot of the northern community.

§ 74. **Mat and Basket Makers** (348,500). These callings, as just mentioned, are often, if not usually, the cover for less reputable means of livelihood, amongst which fortune-telling is one of the more respectable. Most of them admit recruits from higher castes, a form of accretion which generally arises from illicit connections with women of the caste, some of whom appear to be specially attractive even to those far above them in rank. Thus all the larger bodies are much subdivided, and the general tie between the communities is very loose. The Kanjar, for instance, of upper India, has a section which has never emerged from the jungle or hunting stage, whilst others never go far from the villages, and make their living by the manufacture of weavers' brushes, winnowing fans and the reed-mats used for their own tents and the tilts of the peasants' waggons during the rains. They also cut querns like the Khūmrā, and make leaf-platters like the Bari, and stretch the skins of small animals for drums. They are said to reserve a certain number of their girls for marriage within the community and to prostitute the rest. As a rule, they haunt the Jamna valley and the east Panjab, but gangs are found to the south, whither they penetrated by way of Central India, and enjoy a reputation even worse than in the north. As in all castes of this description, the women enjoy a position of much authority, owing, it is said, to the frequent absence of their husbands in the seclusion of the district Jail. If the incarceration be for a long period, a temporary connection with another member of the caste is formed to bridge the interval. Most of the castes are Brāhmanist of a low type, worshipping the local goddesses, and not troubling the Brāhman. In the south, the great gipsy tribes are



the Koraca, Korava or Kuravan and the Yerukala. These used to be considered identical, and no doubt they come from the same Telugu stock. They are now separate, however, in both customs and intercourse. Of the two, the Yerukala, of Telingāna, are the more respectable, though the difference is not great. They have considerable repute as fortune-tellers in addition to their skill at reed and cane work, but their habit of travelling with a considerable herd of pack-animals and sometimes pigs, like the Kanjar, renders them unwelcome visitors in the neighbourhood of the village crops, which suffer from their depredations. One of the larger subdivisions of the Koraca derives its title from the carriage of salt from the coast, and still travels to some extent in that line. They are superior to the northern tribes in regard to the chastity of their women, so far as outsiders are concerned, though their facilities for divorce inside their own body have on several occasions been brought to the notice of the Civil Courts of the Madras Presidency. The Thōri of Gujarāt are few in number and probably allied to the Vaghri, a hunting tribe from the north. They make and sell bedsteads and mat-work, and live about in small tents, like the Koraca, using the ass as their means of transport. The Kaikāḍi are probably a north Dekkan branch of the Koraca.

§ 75. **Mimes etc.** (48,000). Owing to the subdivisions of these castes and the uncertainty as to their origin the figures obtained from the Census are probably far from accurate. The Bahurūpiyā, for instance, or the caste of many faces, is merely a functional body in the Panjāb, and the caste going by that title is a division of the Mahtam, a hunting caste, which is said to have got the name from the variety of the ways in which it picks up its living. In the Ganges valley, on the other hand, the Bahurūpiyā is a sub-caste of the Banjārā, and takes brides from the Naṭ, another gipsy tribe, but gives none in return. The Mahtam too, are connected with the Labāṇā of the Panjāb, so it is not unlikely that the Bahurūpiyā are really of the latter blood. This caste stands much higher than the Bhāṇḍ, or Buffoon, who plies his trade about the mansions of the great, like the jesters of old, and with even greater freedom of speech. Indeed, the ill-temper of the Bhāṇḍ is proverbial, mainly because of the peculiarly offensive manner in which he gives vent to it. In the Panjāb the caste is recruited largely from the Mirāsi, whose name is sometimes retained as well as that of the trade. The Bhavaiō of Gujarāt, is an acting caste, and performs comedies at weddings or other festivals before any village audience subscribing for it. The company is often attached to the village, as part of the establishment. They have the tradition of having once held a higher position in the north, but are now a purely local institution, and owing to confusion of nomenclature, perhaps, their full strength has not been recorded. The Gōndhaḷi of the Marāṭhā country is an itinerant ballad-singer, and dances a special set of figures in honour of a goddess at weddings and private entertainments.

§ 76. **Drummers** (206,200). The ceremonial drummer of a village or temple has been referred to as usually belonging to one of the resident low castes, and is generally upon the village staff. There are others, however, who are more strictly professional upon this instrument, and wander about for their living. The Dafāli, for instance, and the Nagarci, of the Ganges valley, are Muslim, with a sort of religious flavour about their performances. The former expel spirits as well as extorting alms. The Dhōli of Rājputāna, like the Bajāntā of Gujarāt, are Brāhmanist functional

castes, recruited from the village menial and scavenging classes. The *Turāhā* blow horns and are only found in Bengal.

§ 77. **Jugglers and Acrobats etc.** (235,800). There are numerous bodies of jugglers, tumblers, snake-charmers and the like, each with a different name, but all connected, at least in upper India, under the general title of *Naṭ* or *Bāzigar*. It is difficult to say how far the former is the designation of a caste or of a function. In the Panjab, for instance, *Naṭ* is usually held to be a caste, and *Bāzigar* the branch of it which takes to juggling and tumbling. In the Gangetic region, again, the *Bāzigar* is a subdivision of the *Naṭ*, like *Baḍī*, *Sāpera*, *Kabūtārā*, denoting different performances. Then, in Bengal, the *Naṭ* or *Nār* is a caste of trained musicians and dancers of much higher position and accomplishments, and quite distinct from the nomad of the same name. Further to the south, there are the *Dombar* or *Dombara*, of the Telugu country, who are identical with the *Kōlhaṭī* of the Dekkan, both sharing the occupations and traditions of the *Naṭ* of the north. In addition to their acrobatic and similar performances, the greater portion of these communities live by the manufacture of horn articles, by hunting the wild pig and by prostituting their women. They hold themselves above the *Dōm* and village tanner, but almost invariably feed on vermin or carrion. Except in the Panjab, their appearance is that of the dark races of the Central Belt, and, indeed, a good many of the clans say that their original home was amongst the *Gōṇḍ* tribes of the eastern parts of the Central Provinces. There are, necessarily, different grades amongst them and the distinctions are strictly maintained, but most will admit members of higher castes upon payment of a caste-feast or other means of establishing a footing. They are not by any means all criminal, though most are credited with the propensity to break into houses and steal fowls and cattle when the opportunity occurs. The small section of the *Gōpāl*, for instance, of the Dekkan, is a notorious cattle-lifter. In some of the sub-castes of *Naṭ* only the men perform. In others the women are kept for the tribe, and do not prostitute themselves to outsiders. This, however, is exceptional. In one of the sections, the women are experts in tattooing, and act as professionals in this art for other castes, as the *Koraca* do in the south. About three fourths of the *Naṭ* are *Brāhmanists* of a low type, with their own special deities and forms of worship. Occasionally they obtain the good offices of *Brahmans*, if only to fix the lucky day for their ceremonies. Their jungle origin is indicated in a good many cases by their knowledge of roots and herbs as medicines, together with their possession of secret preparations of repute as aphrodisiacs, love-philters and the means of procuring abortion, for all of which there is a certain and constant demand amongst the better classes.

§ 78. **Thieves** (133,500). Along with the above may be taken the castes which have little or no means of livelihood except stealing. In some cases this general condemnation must be qualified, as the same caste may be criminal in one locality but innocent in another. The *Ba-variya*, for instance, is simply a fowling caste in the Panjab, where it is most numerous in that capacity; but the *Bavari* or *Bagariyā* of Central India and the north Dekkan, where it has several sub-titles, is always under the eye of the police during its travels. The *Bēḍiyā*, again, bears a very bad character along the *Jamnā* and in *Oudh*, but has quite respectable sub-castes in Bengal, where many have accepted *Islām*. Another

sub-caste, however, the Māl, is closely connected with the Kōl race, and is credited, indeed, with the parentage of the whole Bēḍiyā community. In upper India that relationship is obscured if not contradicted by the affinity of all these castes, such as the Bēḍiyā, Haburā and the like, with the Saṁsiyā, the thief par excellence, of the north. The exploits of the last-named community have given it a celebrity which is not justified by its numerical strength, though owing to its subdivisions it is difficult to ascertain the latter. The Saṁsiyā stands in curious relationship to the Jāt tribe, each family of which has its Saṁsi genealogist. When a question arises in connection with pedigree it is said that the word of the Saṁsi is accepted in preference to that of the Mirāsī. It is not easy to trace the origin of this parasitic attachment of the degraded caste to the undoubtedly pure and foreign body, especially as this is the only function of the Saṁsiyā which does not bring the caste into unfriendly contact with the police. The women, no doubt, sell roots and herbs, but their object in so doing is said to be merely to get access to the inside of the domicile, and thus obtain information conducive to burglary by their husbands. In contradistinction to the practice of the Naṭ, the Saṁsiyā women are said to be chaste in their relations with outsiders, like the European gipsies, and very staunch in their defence of their male relatives when trouble is imminent. They thus enjoy much influence in the tribal councils, and, owing to the natural timidity of the caste in applying for the protection of the law, these councils practically regulate all the affairs and disputes of the community. It is hardly necessary to say that their religion is of the most simple, and that they feel bound to call in outside spiritual aid only in cases where the ghost or demon of the locality has caused serious illness or bad luck. A few of them have been converted to Islām, but one large section asserts its Rājput origin and keeps aloof from the rest of the tribe. On the other hand, it has been found advisable to form a subdivision to meet the case of the half-breeds, sprung from outsiders who have been admitted into Saṁsiship, generally owing to devotion to a girl of the tribe. The small caste of the Haburā, along the upper Ganges and Jamnā, is allied to the so-called Rājput section of the Saṁsiyā, and keeps up regular Rājput sept divisions. It resembles the parent tribe in its care of the women and disregard of the rights of property, but it seems to be rather more Brāhmanised in its customs and is less given to crimes of violence. In the thieves' latin of all these criminal tribes of the north, it is interesting to trace the strong element of corrupt Gujarātī found throughout, and the same feature is noticeable in the slang of the north Dekkan tribes of this class, as if the western Vindhya had been the nucleus of errant criminality among the Kōl races. In the Dekkan itself and the Karnatic, the only tribes of this class are the small communities of Bhāmṭiyā, Uclī or Ganticor, habitual pilferers, but not further advanced in crime. They are settled in some strength in Poona and its neighbourhood, where their calling has proved so lucrative that several have become large landholders. The railway has been the making of them, as they travel in disguise over the length and breadth of the country, cutting purses and slitting up bundles and carpet bags on their way. They are of Telingāna origin, and still keep up their worship of Yellama, the Earth-goddess, of their home. The Sanaurhiyā, another travelling fraternity of the same pursuits, do not appear in the Census returns, since they return themselves as Sanādh Brāhmins. They are a composite community

recruited from all sorts of castes, but now bound together by the usual caste regulations, including one prohibiting all crimes of violence. Their head-quarters are in Bundelkhand, but they are mostly on the move in disguise, with a few of their more wealthy members established in the chief towns to act as receivers of the goods obtained on the journey. Herein they differ from the Saṁsiya, who will not venture into the town, but concert a meeting in the open field with a Sōnar or other respectable member of society, with whom the bargain is made, and the goods delivered accordingly.

§ 79. **Hunters and Fowlers** (977,600). This is a group which in one direction is merged in that of the lower cultivators and field-labourers, and in the other undoubtedly tends towards that of the petty criminal. The same caste may have a branch in one province entirely devoted to settled village life, whilst in another part of the country it is still in the jungle or nomadic stage. So far as upper India is concerned, there seems reason to think that most of the hunting castes of the present day take their origin amongst the dark race of the western Vindhya. Their own traditions point, as a rule, to north Rājputāna as their native country, but as the south is approached, the hills of Malvā and the west assert their influence, and relationship to the Bhil or other Kōl tribe is claimed. Several of the tribes take their name from some implement of their trade, usually the net or noose, as in the case of the Vaghri, Valaiyan and Bāvariyā, and the Phaṁsi-Pārdhi, of the west, without any indication of their parentage. The Bavariyā is a particularly varied community. It has all the appearance of Kōl descent, even in the Panjab, where it has long been established. Here the caste is said to have come from Meval and Ajmer. It is subdivided into three sections, only one of which still gets its living by the noose. Of the rest, one has taken to cultivation, and the other to vagrancy and petty crime. They are all by heredity good trackers, and though foul in their diet, not badly looked upon by their neighbours when they are settled. Along the Jamnā, however, their character deteriorates, or more correctly perhaps, has not yet risen to the level it reaches further from its native haunts. It is, however, fairly well Brāhmanised, though it keeps to its own worship. The higher castes are, as usual, admitted on payment of the cost of a feast, or even by eating with the members of the tribe. One of the subdivisions, the Moghiyā, is often considered a separate caste, but it seems to be no more than the Central Indian variety of the main body. The Bavariyā of the eastern parts of the upper Ganges valley are apparently quite distinct. They assert Rajput origin and came from Baisvara, and employ the Papre Brāhman of their former residence. In spite of their dark complexion and non-Aryan appearance generally they are not connected by their neighbours with any of the local hill-tribes, and are received on terms of equality by the peasantry and others. The Aheriyā, a tribe found both in the Panjab and along the Jamnā, is similarly divided. In the north they are hunters and reed-workers and occasionally settle down to life in connection with, but outside, the village community, without any suspicion of criminal tendencies. Along the Jamna, however, their reputation is that of potential burglars under the guise of mat-makers and collectors of jungle produce. They were formerly renowned for the well-planned gang-robberies they effected at long distances from their homes, and like the Bhils, for the expedition with which a large body could be got together from many different quarters.



and melt away imperceptibly as soon as its purpose was served. In the present day, they use the railway, and organise expeditions far away in Bengal and the Panjāb. The caste is peculiar in having no subdivisions, endogamous or exogamous, and the conversion of one of its members to Islām makes no difference in his social position. The Bahēliyā is another example of the same name being borne by separate communities. In Bengal, the caste is said to be akin to the Bēḍiyā, mentioned above, and is almost exclusively occupied in hunting and fowling. In Bihār, the Bahēliyā, or Bhūlā, is called a sub-caste of the Dōsādh, but will not hold social intercourse with the latter. In the Ganges valley, again, this caste is said to belong to the Pāsi, whilst in the west, it is affiliated to the Bhil, and is claimed as kin by the Ahēriyā. In spite of their occupation of fowling, they are not amongst the impure, and though unattached to most of the ordinary Brāhmanic forms of worship, they observe the orthodox festivals and employ the village Brahman for their own sacrifices. Comparatively few of them are Muslim. So many are now resident in villages that they are no longer to be counted amongst the nomad tribes. The same may be said of the Mahtam, a hunting caste of the Panjāb, chiefly found in the Satlaj valley. Only a section of them still live by their traditional use of the noose, and the others are settled cultivators and labourers, with a good reputation for industry and quiet behaviour. Portions of both sections have changed their religion to Islam or the Sikh creed, but preserve withal much of their original habits. There is another community of the same name in the submontane tract of the Panjāb, which seems to be a branch of the Banjārā or Labāṇā caste, and to have made its way from the east, whereas the hunting Mahtam reached the Satlaj from Rājputāna. There is thus no connection between the two. One other caste of the Vindhya belongs to this group, namely the Sahariyā, of Bundēlkhaṇḍ and the neighbourhood. It is said to derive its title from the Savara, a name now reserved to a tribe of the south Orissa hills, but applied by Sanskrit writers to any of the Dasyu tribes of the Central Belt. Beyond a common darkness of colour and similarity in feature, there is no link between the two traceable in the present day. The Sahariyā do not wander about the country more than is necessary to give them a good supply of the jungle produce which they live by selling, and their criminality is confined to petty thefts and an occasional gang-robbery. The caste seems to be subdivided on totemistic lines into a number of exogamous sections. They profess Brāhmanism, but worship chiefly their local demons without the intervention of Brāhmins. There is no tradition amongst them of having immigrated from any other part of the country. The other side of the Vindhya presents but few hunting tribes, and those mostly of northern origin. The Vāghri of Gujarāt, who are apparently the Bāghri of Central India, say that they are kinsfolk of the Saṁsiya of the Panjāb, and came from north Rājputāna. They are now, however, naturalised in the west. In that part of the country they are subdivided according to function, and, where they are numerous, according to geographical sections which do not intermarry. They are still great hunters and bird-snarers. In the latter capacity, they have struck out a new and lucrative line of business with the Jain and other Vaniā, who set a very high value upon animal life. The Vāghri makes his catch of birds, takes them in cages to the house of the trader, and there offers to kill them or let them be ransomed, knowing that the merit to be acquired by the latter process

will outweigh the cost in the mind of the orthodox. They also keep fowls, and rent fruit and other productive trees by the year, selling the crop. Most of them wander during the fair season, but a good many have settled down near villages. They have their own priests or clan-elders (Bhuva), who perform their ceremonies and regulate the caste generally. The Vaghri, though not quite in the ranks of the criminal castes, has a bad reputation among villagers for theft. In the north Dekkan, indeed, this caste is credited with a good deal of the crime against property, but it is not certain that the sub-castes which operate in that region are not from Central India. Linguistic evidence seems to indicate a Gujarati origin, but, as stated above, this peculiarity is found in the dialects of tribes far separated from that province. The Phānsī-Pardhi, however, or snarers of bird and beast, seem to be really a branch of the Vaghri who have made their home in the Marāthā country, where they are occasionally found in the capacity of village watchmen.

Up to a certain point all the hunting castes in the Dekkan assert their origin to have been in the north. After that, the corresponding castes claim to have come up from the south. The Bēraḍ or Bedar have been classed with the watchmen, and so have the Tamil castes now so engaged: but there seems reason to think that all these castes are connected in some way or another with the Vēḍan, Valaiyan, Vēṭṭuvan and similar bodies, the majority of which belong to the hunting or fowling order. What the connection really is has not yet been ascertained. There is, however, a sub-caste of Ambalakkāran bearing the name of Vēḍan, and the whole body claims to be descended from a Vēḍan, and the Valaiyan say that this same hero was the founder of their caste also. The Vēṭṭuvan hold their heads higher, and add the title Vēḷḷaḷan to their caste-name, saying that they were imported by the Kongu Chiefs to assist them in the conquest of Kēraḷa. The Vēḍan say they were originally natives of Ceylon, and the Vēṭṭuvan worship Kaṇḍi-amman, the goddess of Kandy, as well as their seven Kannimar, or tribal deities, worshipped also by the Irula, a more primitive tribe. The Vēṭṭuvan of the interior, again, are distinct from the caste in Malabar bearing the same title. Another small hunting caste in Malabar is the Kuṛiccan, confined chiefly to the Vaināḍ. The former stand higher than the latter, though both are jungle-haunters. The Kuṛiccan, too, have the same abhorrence of contact with the Brahman that the Paraiyan have, and worship a tribal god of their own. It would seem, therefore, that except in the west, these castes are more settled and likely to rise in position than any of those found in the north, and that the members or families which continue to follow the traditional occupation are being gradually relegated to sub-castes below the general level of the rest.

### F. Hill Tribes.

§ 80. It can be easily inferred from what has been set forth in the course of this survey that the importance in the ethnology of India of the pre-Aryan inhabitants can scarcely be overrated. There is, on the one hand, the gradual extension among them of the foreign forms of speech; on the other, the assimilation of their forms of belief into the religious system of those who have dispossessed them of their territory and position. In the preceding portion of this work, too, instances are given over and over

again of the incorporation of communities, wholly or in part, into the Brāhmanic social system, showing the extent to which that system and the racial constitution of the population at large is permeated from top to bottom by the Dasyu element. It becomes necessary therefore, to give some consideration to the remnants of these primitive communities which have, so far, more or less escaped absorption, and have preserved in a modified but still distinguishable, shape their independent tribal existence. It is obvious that in the present day the chief interest of these tribes is found, ethnographically speaking, in their constitution, customs and beliefs. Into these subjects it is impossible to enter in the detail they merit in a review of this description. It is also unnecessary, as they have been treated for the most part by experts, in works devoted to such investigation, and the rest are still the subject of inquiry in similarly competent hands. All that is here attempted is a cursory sketch of the position, strength and geographical distribution of the more representative of these bodies, in order that their place in the Indian Kosmos may be duly appreciated.

It is convenient to treat of these tribes according to the tracts which they inhabit. The most important of these, in both extent and ethnographical interest, is what has been called in this work, the Central Belt. It comprises the great plateau of Cūtiā Nāgpur, with an extension to the north across the Santal Parganās to the Ganges at Rajmahāl. Southwards, it follows the ranges which separate Orissa from the eastern parts of the Central Provinces, skirting the plain of Chattisgarh, and continuing south as far as the lower Godāvāri. Westwards from Cūtiā Nāgpur, the hill country passes along the south of Shāhabād and Mirzāpur, along the Kaimūr range and the Vindhya, to Mēvār and the Aravalli. Almost parallel, to the south of the Nabadā, are the Māhādēv and Sātpura ranges of Berār and Khandēsh, ending in the forests of east Gujarāt. Contiguous to this western abutment of the Belt, is the line of the Sahyādri, or Western Ghāts, which, about as far as the little State of Bhōr, is inhabited by a few small tribes of the same character as those further east, and probably allied to them in race. Then there occurs a gap in the series, as the south Dekkan is cultivated almost up to the edge of the Ghāts; and the next locality in which the more primitive tribes are found is the Nilgiri, with their detached continuation separating Travancore from the east coast. The above tracts are the present homes of the remains of the Kōl and Dravidian tribes. The hill communities of Mongoloid race are found chiefly in the ranges separating Assam from Upper Burma, and in the dorsal range of Assam itself, made up of the Gāro, Khāsia, Jaintya, Nāgā and Mikir hills, between the Brahmaputra valley and the Deltaic plain. The remaining group inhabit the Himālayan southern ranges, and, being chiefly resident in Nepāl and Bhutān, countries beyond the census limits, come but slightly within the scope of this review.

§ 81. (a) **Central Belt** (9,221,900). The tribes of this tract may be taken first, not only because they form the largest division, but also by reason of their more intimate racial connection with the masses of the plains. Each differs from the rest in some important respects with regard to organisation, customs and beliefs, but there are a few characteristics general throughout the whole. All but three or four of the larger tribes believe themselves to be autochthonous, if not to the tract they now inhabit, at least to one within a comparatively short distance. All the larger tribes, again, have traditions of dominion over a much larger tract than

their present one, and in most cases the statement is supported by evidence such as that of ruins, names of places and castes and by identical forms and objects of worship. In every large tribe, again, there are sections which are far more Brāhmanised than the rest, usually with the tendency to separate under a different title, the latter being borrowed from an orthodox community of the plains. Most of the tribes are much subdivided into exogamous divisions, totemistic as a rule; endogamous sections following later, after contact with Brāhmanical castes. Where the tribe is free from such outside influences it employs priests belonging to its own or a neighbouring community, and in several cases the more important sacrifices are performable in the archaic fashion by the head of the family only. The usual form of religion is that of the worship of nature or spirits, with the accompaniment of spells, witchcraft and exorcism generally. Among the more Brāhmanised tribes there is the outward acceptance of some manifestation or other of a member of the Purānic pantheon, but from the practical side of devotion and propitiation, the belief in the efficacy of the older system remains unshaken: and it is worth noting that the older the tribe in the locality the higher the reputation of the priests it furnishes. In regard to occupation, the greater part of this population lives by cultivation, a few tribes on the plateau of Cūtiā Nāgpur having attained to a fair degree of skill in their calling, and making use of the plough. The bulk, however, still pursue the primitive and wasteful system of clearing a patch of jungle, burning the vegetation thereof for manure, and raising two or three years' harvest off it. They then leave it fallow for some years, moving off meanwhile to another patch. Where this is the practice, the village is migratory, within a certain range, or consists merely of detached hamlets; but in the more open country, cultivation being permanent, the village site is so too, and the huts or houses are built more solidly. In a few of the wilder tribes the whole village is apt to flit when untoward events have proved the locality or its deities to be unpropitious. In all the large tribes there are sections which live almost entirely upon forest produce, and in some, where an autumn crop only is raised, the people rely during the hot weather entirely upon what the jungle contains. Some communities, again, make it their regular trade to collect lac, tussar-cocoons, berries and other produce for sale to agents from the towns, whilst others habitually work in cane or make tooth-sticks and brushes, smelt iron, or wash the river sands for its minute yield of gold. At the other end of the scale are found in several tribes landed proprietors of considerable wealth, who have long passed out of the tribal into the caste stage, and who, in the case of petty Chieftains, marry into respectable Rajput families — at a distance. Great advantage has been taken by others of the opportunities of earning good wages on the tea-gardens of Dārjiling, the Tarāi and Assam, where they bear an excellent character for industry and docility. The heart of the jungle, however, has hitherto proved almost impervious to the efforts made to improve the inhabitants by land grants or other means of inducement to them to work themselves into a higher material condition. On the outskirts it is different, and there, as before remarked, the tribal population is breaking away from its traditions, and becoming merged gradually into the conditions of the plains.

§ 82. It was pointed out in the introduction that whilst in physical characteristics and general customs these tribes appear homogeneous,



in speech they fall into two different categories, the Kōl and the Dravidian. In the case of most of the southern tribes this distinction is obviously attributable to the contiguity of the Āndhra or Telugu population of which they form the northern fringe. As regards the detached communities further north, however, there are traditions of immigration, and it is remarkable to find tribes like the Orāon, of the south of Cūtiā Nāgpur, and the Mal-Pahāriyā and their neighbours of the hills bordering the Ganges speaking tongues which support their assertion that they reached their present localities from a tract as far distant as the Karnatic, especially when to do so they must apparently have outflanked the Gōṇḍ, a still more powerful tribe, which itself is said to have come from the same home. It must be noted that the Mālē, or northern section of the inhabitants of the Rājmahāl hills, are also called Sāvāriyā, or Sābar, a title which appears to link them to the Savara, or Suari, of the ancient European geographers, Pliny and Ptolemy. These were once undoubtedly in possession of a considerable territory south of the Ganges, but now the only large tribe known by their special designation except the Brāhmanised Sahariyā, mentioned above, is located far to the south, and isolated amongst a population speaking either Oriyā or the hill-vernaculars of the Dravidian type. On linguistic grounds, the Savara of today are grouped amongst the Kōl-Khervāri peoples, whereas the Mālē use a tongue nearly akin to that of the Orāon. It is possible, therefore, that an ancient and wide-spread title has been applied to two different and distinct communities, and that the southern Savara like their neighbours, the Gadabā, are Dravidian by race, modified by the influence of more powerful alien surroundings. Thus, it may be generally put that the Dravidian element is indigenous in the south-east, immigrant in the south, centre and a portion of the north-east; and that the north, west, and most of the plateau, appertain to the Kōl-Khervāri tribes.

In regard to the latter, it must be noted that the generic designation of Kōl is not returned as the title of a tribe except in the Central Provinces, Central India, and the south of the Ganges valley. Towards the east of the tract in question, the terms used are Hō, Muṇḍā and Bhūmij. Of these, Hō is held to mean Man, the name given to themselves by most primitive tribes. Kōl is probably derived from Hō by transliteration. Muṇḍā and Bhūmij are terms of Sanskrit origin, the former meaning a headman of a village, also a common appellation for the lower races in India, and in this case adopted by the tribe itself. Bhūmij, in the same way, implies connection with the soil, and connotes in most cases in which it is applied the clearers of the village-site. In various forms it is found from Gujarāt to Assam. Occasionally it means the hereditary landholders of the village; elsewhere, the menials and guardians of the boundaries. In the form of Bhūinyā, in Bengal, it is both a generic title, covering a considerable number of castes of different standing and origin, and also the name of a loose and scattered tribe in the south-eastern part of the Belt. The tribe to which the name of Bhūmij is now given is a branch of the Muṇḍā which has spread from the central home of the race to the eastwards, and now lives in western Bengal and the districts of Mānbhūm and Singhbhūm. The community is almost entirely Brāhmanised, except in the tracts immediately adjoining the plateau, where the Muṇḍā language is still current, and the people intermarry with the Muṇḍā of the uplands, and often call themselves by their name. As the tribe advanced into the

plain all this was changed. The tribal worship was abandoned by the landholding class in favour of Brāhmanism of a somewhat strict type, and the Aryan vernacular of the district is used by them. In the wealthier families the practice is growing of calling themselves Rājputs and dropping their ancestral connection altogether. The less advanced adhere to their tribal gods and employ their own Laya, or priests, on all occasions. The Munḍa are subdivided into numerous tribes, the names of most of which prove an origin from intermarriage with other tribes of the vicinity. These, again, are further parcelled out respectively into totemistic sections, of course exogamous, and with interesting rules as to prohibited food. The chief object of worship is the Sun, as is the case with most of the larger tribes of this tract, but a more efficient and active deity is found in the Mountain god, again a not uncommon feature of the Kōl race. The priests, or Pahan, are members of the tribe. The Hō, sometimes called the Larkha Kōl, are probably the oldest, as they are the highest, of the three cognate tribes. The Santal, Bhumij and the Munḍa call themselves Hō, but no one else does, and intermarriage between them and the Hō of Singbhūm is now unusual. The latter are of Cutiā Nagpur, like the others, but having got possession of a more fertile region, they have taken the greatest care to prevent strangers from sharing the land with them. Physically, they are the finest of the race, and have become a steady agricultural community of a somewhat undeveloped type. The tribes returning themselves as Kōl are found for the most part in the Mirzapur district along the Ganges, in Jabalpur and Māndla in the Central Provinces, and in the Baghelkhaṇḍ tract of Central India. They have the tradition of having once lived in the plains of south Bihar from which they were expelled by Savara of some sort, and had to take refuge in Baghelkhaṇḍ. In all the above tracts the tribe is comparatively Brahmanised and has lost much of the organisation and worship it has retained in Cutiā Nagpur, where the Kōl is a branch of the Munḍa. Here they live after the fashion of their ancestors, but in the rest of their settlements they have taken to simple cultivation on the ordinary lines, and differ but little from their Brahmanic neighbours except in more extended respect for sorcery, and in the propitiation of the local gods in preference to those of wider fame. One of the most civilised tribes of this group is the Kharvar, to which belong more than one of the local Chiefs who have been accepted as equals by Rājputs, on payment, however, of unusually heavy dowries. The Kharvar appear to be without traditions of immigration from further than the south east of the Cutiā Nagpur table-land, from which they spread northwards and down into south Bihar. Here their rank seems to depend much upon their connection with the land. Those who hold large estates claim to be Rājputs, and the middle classes employ Śākadvīpī Brāhmans and retain only the more important of their tribal ceremonies. Even amongst these classes the influence of the Baiga, or tribal priest, is by no means extinct. Indeed, the reputation of the tribe for supernatural powers is such that a section bears the name of Baigā, and is so returned in the Central Provinces and Baghelkhaṇḍ, from which it may be inferred that the Kharvar is regarded by its neighbours in that direction as being of an older stock than themselves. On the other hand, sections of the Kharvar now employ a priest of the Korvā, or even a lower tribe. The respect shown by the Kharvar for the Khar grass, which they say they take their name, seems to indicate that they were once a totemistic

branch of a larger community, but no traces of this have been ascertained, and the tribe holds itself to be superior to all around it, except, perhaps the Cēru. The latter are even more thoroughly Brāhmanised than the Kharvār, and have the same tradition of having been ousted from dominion in the south of Bihār. They were the last to leave the plain for the plateau, and are accepted as an orthodox Brāhmanic caste. A small section, however, in the interior, still keeps to the jungle and breeds tussar moths, for doing which they are deemed impure by their relatives. Long periods of settled life, combined with frequent intermarriage with high class families of Rājputs and others, have in fact made the larger body of the Cēru a different and distinct community, claiming the name of Cōhān-bansi. The totemistic subdivisions of their poor relations, however, prove their connection with both the general Muṇḍā race and perhaps more especially, with the Khariā. These last say they came up to Manbhūm and Rānci from the Orissa State of Mayurbhanj. One branch took to cultivation and settled life, whilst those in Manbhūm remain amongst the most shy and uncivilised of their kind. The former affect the highest regard for purity in diet, and greatly restrict their intercourse with outsiders, a habit which is sometimes unkindly attributed to their own filth and disregard of social decency. They intermarry with the Muṇḍā on unequal terms, the larger tribe taking brides from them but giving none in return. The Khariā keep to their own worship, using Muṇḍā or Orāon priests. The jungle section live on the produce of the forest with a little simple cultivation of the migratory sort. When any stranger settles within sight, they move off, a tendency welcomed by their neighbours, who regard them as the possessors of exceptional powers of magic, available against both man and beast. The largest of the Kōl communities is the Santāl, who call themselves, like the Muṇḍā, by a term signifying Headman of a village (Mānjihi). The tribe is not autochthonous in its present locality, though their immigration does not seem to have been from a greater distance than the south-east of the Cūtiā Nāgpur plateau. From thence they spread eastwards and northwards in succession, and peopled the Santāl Parganās about the middle of the 19th century. This eastward movement is still in progress, and the Santāl are gradually taking up land in that direction wherever they find they can keep on laterite soil and within the range of the Sāl tree, which is said to be to them all that the bamboo is to the inhabitant of the plains. The aversion from alluvial soil manifested by all the tribe, is accounted for, according to some, by its unsuitability to their favourite tree, whilst others attribute it to the fact that the uplands afford better outlets for expansion of cultivation than the already well-peopled riparian tracts of the great valley. The Santāl is also one of the people most willing to leave his home for temporary engagements on the tea-gardens of Assam and the Tarāi, where over 40,000 of this tribe were returned at the Census. In spite of their wanderings, the Santāl have kept up their elaborate tribal organisation, with a most intricate subdivision of clans and with mystic pass-words current amongst them. Their tribal worship of the Sun and Mountain, too, is strictly maintained. Each family, moreover, has its own domestic god with the addition of a secret god, the name of which is kept a mystery to the women of the household, and only divulged to the eldest son of the house, lest undue influence be brought to bear upon it. It is said that a generation or two ago, the wealthier Santāls, in imitation of the Brāhmanic high castes of the neighbourhood, took to

marrying off their girls at a very early age. This practice is common enough amongst the aspiring families of the lower classes, but the remarkable feature in the new departure among the Santāls is that after a few years' trial the practice was abandoned and the tribal custom of marriage in the teens was resumed. There have been a good many converts to Christianity from the tribe of late years, and, indeed, most of the information available about the language and religion of the tribe is derived from Danish and other Missionaries working amongst them: In their own worship and in the periodical great sacrifices the Santāl relies upon the Naiki, or priest of his own community. Akin to the Santāl is a small tribe called Māhili, which, judging from the names of its subdivisions, must have split off from the main body on taking to work, such as carrying loads and making baskets, deemed degrading by the Santāl. It seems, too, that the Munḍā contributed a section to the Māhili. The latter are now found chiefly in Mānbhūm and the Rānci district of the plateau, with a few scattered amongst their kinsfolk elsewhere. Their religion has been described as a mixture of "Animism half-forgotten and Brāhmanism half-understood". Sacrifices are offered to the god of the mountain and to the snake and then consumed by those who make the offering. One subdivision only has advanced well into the religion of the plains, and employs Brāhman and abjures the food dear to the rest. The Binjhiā and Birjiā have usually been considered to be one tribe, but at the last Census it was considered better to tabulate them separately. This course appears to have been correct, as the larger community of the Binjhiā is a Brāhmanised cultivating caste, speaking Oṛiyā, and settled in the south of the Rānci district, whilst the Birjiā are residents of the uncleared forest, where they live from hand to mouth by the cultivation of small patches, eked out by hunting wild animals and collecting fruit etc. They are held to belong to the Agariā, or iron-smelting tribe whose customs they follow. The Juāng, or Patuā, are perhaps the most primitive of all their group. They inhabit the recesses of the Orissa hills, and it is remarkable to find the caste amongst the indentured labourers in Assam. Both language and customs indicate their close relationship with the Khariā and Munḍā. They worship the forest and village gods, but are said to be acquiring some appreciation of Brāhmanic deities. They keep village priests, but the important offices are performed by the elders of the tribe. The latter, probably because it is so small, is not subdivided, but forms a single endogamous community. The practice of clothing themselves with leaves, which has been picturesquely described by Dalton and other visitors to their haunts, is said to be yielding to the taste for cotton wrappers, even amongst the women, who have hitherto alleged divine warrant for the leaf-apron.

§ 83. Of the immigrant tribes of the plateau, the most important is the Oraon, or Kūrukh, which, as stated above, is apparently of Kanarese origin. According to the tribal tradition, the Oraon once held a good portion of South Bihār, and on being expelled by the Muslim, separated into two branches, one following the Ganges to the Rājmaḥal jungle, the other going up the Sōn and occupying the north-west corner of Cūtīā Nagpur. The main body are now settled in the latter tract, covering the districts of Rānci and Palāmau. As they are greatly in request as labourers they are also found in the Census returns of Assam and the Jalpaiguri tea districts in considerable numbers. Having dwelt side by side with the



Muṇḍā for many generations, they have dropped a good many of their own customs and adopted those of the indigenous tribes. In regard to their worship, however, they keep themselves apart, erecting some symbol of their gods, whilst the Muṇḍā abstain from anything of the sort. The Orāon employ no Brāhmans of course, and their priests are Nāya, very like those of the Muṇḍā. According to tradition, the Orāon introduced the plough into the plateau and were the first to take to regular cultivation. They regard the Muṇḍā as their predecessors, however, and where the two are in the same place, the Orāon yield precedence to the elder tribe. The advance of settled government and systematic land administration has not conduced to the prosperity of the Orāon, who lose ground before the more cunning castes which follow those symptoms of civilisation, and prey upon the less educated, gradually dispossessing them of their lands. As to the other branch of the Orāon, who are still entrenched in the hills of Rājmahāl, it appears that two sections have been formed, one, of the Mal-Pahāriā, the lower and more Brāhmanised community, and the other, called, for want of a more definite title, the Mālē, or Hillmen. There seems to be little doubt but that in spite of the antagonism between the two in the present day they belong to the same race, using closely allied dialects of the Orāon-Kanarese language. The Southern community, though more civilised than the Northern, is still more or less in the jungle stage, and worships the Sun, Earth and Tiger, through the mediation of the headmen of the villages. One subdivision is considered by the outside world to be a trifle purer than the rest, as in the matter of diet it draws the line above rats and lizards, which enter into the daily meal of the others. They cultivate on the wasteful system of jungle-burning, which entails the occupation of an abnormally large tract of land to allow of the frequent fallows necessary for the recuperation of the vegetation. The Mālē of the upper hills, are far less affected by Brāhmanic contact than the others, and are said to be homogeneous to the extent of not having even exogamous subdivisions. They share with the Mal-Pahāriā the worship of the Sun, but differ from the latter in setting up a post to symbolise that luminary. The only semblance of a priest amongst them is the Demāno or Diviner, and even he gives place to the headman at the more important ceremonies. The Mālē gave a good deal of trouble in the early days of British rule in Bengal, as they had managed to preserve their independence of all government against the attempts of the Muslim to coerce them. The judicious handling of them by a popular local official, late in the 18th century, pacified them into the abstention of raids upon their neighbours, but his attempts at inducing the tribe to take to industrial pursuits were not successful.

§ 84. The largest and most widely spread of the tribes of the Central Belt is the Gōṇḍ, a title which like that of Kōl, has been extended to a number of almost distinct communities. Some authorities trace the name to Koṇḍa, the Telugu for hill, as in the case of the Kond or Kand tribe, and they certainly cover the hill-country from Orissa westwards, with a strong northern settlement in the Sātpura and the south-west of the Cūtiā Nāgpur plateau. It has been already pointed out that their language approximates to the Kanarese rather than to the adjacent Telugu, but there is little or no tradition of their earlier wanderings. The Rāj-Gōṇḍ, who pushed up the Narbadā and Kaimur, established a strong dominion on the ruins of the Gauli dynasties, though it seems that they were in the

neighbourhood long before that opportunity occurred, and were being transformed into Nagbansi Rājputs even by the 4th century. The zenith of their rule was from the 16th to the beginning of the 18th centuries, when the Bhonsle overran their country and completely dispossessed them of their power except in the hill fastnesses, which held out against all comers. From the Kaimur the Gōṇḍ passed eastwards into Baghelkhand and the hills along the south of the Ganges valley. Here they are now known as Majhvar or Mānjhi, meaning headman, like Muṇḍā. In the Cūtīā Nagpur States the Gōṇḍ hold their land on military tenure, a fact which seems to indicate that they were in possession before the present rulers. All the northern and central Gōṇḍ are more or less Brāhmanised. The upper classes, descendants of the former Chieftains, and the Chieftains still holding petty States, claim to be Rājputs, and have for generations intermarried with families of that order whose circumstances were in need of reinforcement from some landed class better off than themselves. Underlying the prevailing beliefs, however, are the old tribal worship and customs, and whilst Brāhmins are consulted as to lucky days and are brought in to perform social ceremonies, the efficacy of the local priest and exorciser, Pathārī, Pradhān or Ojhā, in practical dealings with the supernatural, is everywhere acknowledged. In the south-east of the Gōṇḍ country, from Chattisgarh to Orissa, the tribes are far less Brāhmanised, and live more in the forest. The Mariā form the principal section, and are found chiefly in the Bastar State and the district of Cānda. The majority of the Mariā are probably the wildest of the Gōṇḍ, but on the outskirts of the hills they are beginning, it is said to drop their designation for that of Kōitar, a more advanced section, and leading up to the title of Gōṇḍ, without any affix. The Kōyi are less civilised than the Kōitar, but the Bhatrā, or Bottadā, to the east of the Gōṇḍ tract, are nearly all Brāhmanised, some wearing the sacred thread, like the Rāj section of the Gōṇḍ. The Halabā, originally from the Bastar State, have settled to a considerable extent in the plain of Chattisgarh, and the further they get from the jungle the more strenuously they disown connection with the Gōṇḍ, and claim to be an independent Brāhmanic caste. As their main occupation is the distillation of spirit from forest produce their claim is not encouraged by the higher grades of the community to which they affiliate themselves. It is not possible to give the numerical strength of all these sections of the great Gōṇḍ tribe or race, as at the Census the use of the general title was very extensive. In 1891 some detail was given, but on that occasion also the value of the figures is diminished by the large number of unspecified entries.

§ 85. Of the Dravidian tribes, next to the Gōṇḍ come the Kand, or Kond, with their kindred. The main body calls itself Kūyi, but the derivation of both this and the ordinary title is uncertain. The Kand have attracted a good deal of literary notice, partly due to their former practice of human sacrifices and supposed advanced religious views. But the community is much subdivided and by no means uniform in its structure or habits. There is, for instance, the usual division into the hill section, which is untouched by Brāhmanism, and that of the plains, which is adopting both the language and religion of the Oriyās and Telugu respectively. The Kand resemble the Gōṇḍ in having pushed up northwards from the southern outskirts of the ranges forming the abutment of the Central Belt to the south-east. A further point of resemblance is the adoption of the

name of the dominant tribe by bodies of artisans and menials who minister to the former, so that, as in the case of the Nāyar but on a smaller scale, there are Gōṇḍ blacksmiths, drummers and cowherds, and Kand blacksmiths and potters. The tribe lives by agriculture of the usual rude kind, but all the Kand are also keen hunters, and very expert against game with their bow and hatchet. They are very tenacious of their tribal rights over the land they have once cleared, and in some cases, the whole of the village land is held in common. The Kondu-Dōra, on the contrary, who are probably the southern branch of the same tribe, have lost hold of their hills and are no more than a Brahmanic caste, speaking a mixture of their old language and Telugu, and conforming to the ordinary local customs. The Porojā, the meaning of whose title is uncertain, apparently belong to the same stock as the Kand, but their language is held by Dr. Grierson to be Gōṇḍ, at least where the two communities live alongside of each other. Elsewhere it is treated as a mixture of Kand and Oṛiyā. The tribe therefore, may be placed midway between the Gōṇḍ and the Kand. The Gadabā, again, are considered locally to be a branch of the Porojā, and their subdivisions confirm this view. They are said to have separate dialects of Oṛiyā, all mutually unintelligible to the rest. In the Linguistic Survey, however, the Gadabā language is classed with the Savara, as southern Kōl-Khervārī. The tribe has no tradition of migration, and lives by cultivation, one section working as carriers and labourers. Their headmen act as their priests, and bear the same title as among the Kand. The Jātapu are said to be Kand who have become in most respects Brāhmanised. Those residing in the hills speak Kand, but those on the plain have taken to Telugu. The Jātapu, whilst observing the orthodox rules as to marriage and diet, have never given up the old tribal gods, to whom they sacrifice animals through their own priests, and keep to their totemistic exogamous clans.

§ 86. There remains the Savara tribe, of which the greater portion is now found in the Orissa hills and the adjacent wild country, under the Central Provinces and Madras. It has been already pointed out that assuming this tribe to represent the ancient Suari or Sabarae, they once possessed a considerable dominion in the south Ganges valley. It is curious to find even in the present day small communities bearing this name in the very north of the Central Provinces and Bundēlkhāṇḍ, with no traditions of migration or former supremacy. The alternative designation of the Mālē of Rājmaḥāl, Sauriā, has also been ascribed to some connection with the Savara. Be this as it may, the detached body of the north-west has lost all trace of its primitive religion and language, and is simply a low caste of the ordinary Brāhmanic type. Similarly, an offshoot of the main Savara body which has settled in western Bengal, is gradually detaching itself from the hill-dwellers of the tribe and employing Brāhman. It is worthy of note that whereas the Savara in their native haunts seem to be without exogamous subdivisions, those who have left the hills establish them upon both totemistic and Brāhmanic lines, borrowing the former, probably, from some neighbouring tribe which preceded the Savara in the valley. The wilder Savara have functional classes, such as the agricultural, the metal-working, the weaving and the cane-working, but information is not yet available as to the social distinctions implied in this distribution. The Savara of the southern outskirts seem to be inclined to branch off from their hill-comrades as they have done on the Bengal

side of the hills, and to gradually incorporate themselves with the Kapu, or peasantry.

§ 87. (b) **Western Belt** (1,922,300). The Western branch of the Kol tribes of the Central Belt differs considerably from those just reviewed, owing, probably, to their having been driven into tracts which allow but little room for cultivation, even on the methods adopted by the inhabitants of the plateau. The link between the western tribes and the rest is found in the Kōrvā, a tribe Kol in its language, and by repute one of the earliest settlers of the western parts of Cūtiā Nāgpur. The Kōrvā, under its western title of Kur or Kōrkū, originated, it is said, in the Mahadev Hills, and spread east and west. That they are amongst the oldest established tribes seems certain, for other tribes get their priests from them in all cases where village or local deities have to be appeased. The few of the tribe who have risen to the rank of landed proprietors affect Brāhmanism, and set up as Rājputs, but the rest of the community, except, perhaps, a few in the west, worship their ancestral ghosts and propitiate the malignant spirits of other people. In some of the States of Cūtiā Nāgpur, the Kōrvā smelts iron and makes his own weapons and implements, but this art is lost amongst those of the Sātpura, who have to have recourse to professionals for the large arrows which they use with considerable skill at short ranges. Towards Betūl and the Berār hills, the Kōrkū are divided into clans, the principal of which is called Muvāsi. Further to the west, this title is applied to the Bhils of the same range, and there is doubtless some connection between the two. The Bhil has lost his tribal language, and, except in the heart of the forest, much of his tribal religion. Like the rest of his race, however, he maintains his respect for the old pantheon as being more intimately and practically bound up with daily life than the Purānic manifestations, even though the latter be brought down to suit his requirements. The name of Bhil is generally derived from a Dravidian word for bow, as in the case of the tree-tapping caste, Billava, in Kanara. Probably this name, or at all events its interpretation, is modern compared to the age of the community, but it certainly is applicable to the Bhil of the present day, who in the forest, and even on the outskirts thereof, is seldom without his weapons. In the west, the Bhil tribes are divided, like the Kol of further east, into a Hill and a Plain section. The latter, however, do not appear to aspire to more than a rudimentary form of village settlement by themselves or than the duties of watchmen in the larger villages of other castes. In the latter capacity, the permission to retain his arms proved too strong a temptation to be resisted when the institution was first established, and the Bhil watchmen, with that marvellous power of rapid concentration which distinguishes the tribe, were wont to descend in force upon one of the villages exempt from their services. This phase soon passed, and the Bhil is now a recognised part of the establishment in the eastern villages of Gujarāt. The Bhil worships the wood-spirits, and in the west, at least, erects posts to them in the jungle, sacrificing fowls and other offerings through a priest, generally of the tribe, whose duty on other occasions is to discover the witches who seem to be peculiarly active in this community. Some of the eastern Bhils have been converted to Islam, especially those of the Tādvi clan, but their observance of its tenets are very half-hearted, and the women especially, keep to their former practices. In former days the Bhils held a good part of the country north of their present hills, and were driven out by the Rājputs



under pressure of the Muslim. Even now, they receive the respect due to their former repute, an instance of which was given above in connection with the enthronement of a Rājput Chief. There is strong reason to think that the tribe was reinforced by the incorporation of refugee Rājputs, who have left their mark upon certain clans of Bhil, especially in the south of Rājputāna. In fact, the connection between the two is said to have resulted in the formation of the Bhilāla, now a separate tribe. In regard to the relationship of the Bhil to the Korku, it may be noted that the name of Mēvās, which is given to some of the Bhil tracts in the west, is taken from the title of Muvāsi, or Mavaca, by which they are called, and which, as observed above, is the name of the western branch of the Kōrkū. Akin to the Bhil are the Dhānkā, a tribe of south Rājputāna and Central India, the Patelīā in the same region, and probably of mixed origin, and the Taḍvi and Pāvāḍā, which are both Bhil clans locally separated from the main body, and settled in the Khāndēsh Sātpura. The Gāmtā, or Gāmit, which nearly touch them on the north-west, seem to be merely a superior class of Bhil, and not a separate tribe. The great Kōli tribe, which has been classed with the cultivators, contains, also, more than one subdivision which still live in or near the forest, and have not taken, like the rest, to either agriculture or seafaring pursuits. The Nāikaḍā is probably one of these, as it is distinct from the Bhil, though sharing the tastes and mode of life of the latter. The Naikaḍā are found along the south-west border of Rājputāna and Central India, with colonies in the forests of east Gujarāt. They are by repute even worse neighbours than the Bhil, and on several occasions have only been kept down by force. For many years, however, they have been at peace, though showing no disposition to abandon their primitive cultivation and their dependence upon the jungle for their livelihood. The only advance they have made is to engage under the Forest officials to cut and transport timber, instead of working the jungle on their own wasteful plan. They pay homage to Mātā and Hanumān, as representing their own worship of nature and the forest, but not only repudiate the services of the Brāhman, but look upon the murder of one of that order as an act of merit, and have the grim saying, "By killing a caste-mark wearer, you feed a hundred." There is a small tribe of much the same name, but settled at some distance from the Nāikaḍā, called Nāyak, which is unconnected with the Kōli, and seems to be the elder branch of the Dhūṇḍiā caste, mentioned in connection with agricultural labour. They are only found in the south-east of Gujarāt, where they live on the skirts of the forest, but not in it. The Dhūṇḍiā of the open country pay them respect at all formal ceremonies, but do not eat or intermarry with them. The Nāyak, moreover, have kept up a good many of the tribal customs which the others have sloughed off. Inter alia, they are terribly skilful and persistent on the local drum, an accomplishment much appreciated at weddings and other festivals. The Chōdrā of a little further north, are in appearance and customs much the same as the Dhūṇḍiā, but they have the tradition of having immigrated to their present home from the south of Rājputāna, whence they were expelled along with some Rājput clans, by the Muslim. They resemble the Dhūṇḍiā in having taken to regular cultivation, with the addition of cutting firewood from the forest for sale in the open country. Beyond their worship of the village boundary-gods and their avoidance of Brāhman, there is little to distinguish them from a low caste of Brahmanic cultivators,

and they are said to be gradually rising in position through their industry and peaceful habits.

§ 88. (c) **Sahyādri** (367,600). The three or four small tribes of the northern Sahyādri are almost contiguous to those just mentioned and possibly are connected with some of them, though they have no traditions as to their origin. The lowest of them, the Kāṭkari or Kāthodī, which derives its name from the catechu it extracts in the forests, says it came from the north, by which it means the forests of south Gujarat. The tribe resembles the lower class of Bhil in appearance, but lacks the independence and joviality of the predatory communities. The Kāṭkari stick close to the forests, and though they cultivate on a rude system, they never take up land on a permanent tenure. They have their own gods and forms of sacrifice, without reference to Brāhmins. The tiger is an object of special regard, as in Cūtia Nāgpur. Other tribes steer clear of the Kāṭkari, not only because the latter are foul-feeders and remarkably dirty, but also because of their reputation as sorcerers. It is worth noting that whilst the principal demon of the locality is worshipped by the other tribes it is reputed to be controlled by the Kāṭkari, a difference implying the older settlement of the latter tribe. The Vārli (uplander), so called from being supposed to have come from the country above the Ghāṭs, are now resident along the coast, but still in the forest. They are superior in appearance to the Kāṭkari, and are not adverse to permanent cultivation, generally as subtenants upon the half-share system. The bulk of the tribe also deal in jungle produce. They share some of the gods and ceremonies of the Kāṭkari, with the addition of Vāghobā, a tiger god recognised by the lower Brāhmanists. The latter, in turn, do not consider them as altogether impure and enter their houses, or, at least, those of the Vārli who breed cattle. The third tribe, the Ṭhākūr, called for distinction, the Ghāṭ-Ṭhākūr, stands still higher in society, though except in being a little more cleanly, the members of it have a strong physical resemblance to the darker tribes of the north and east. They hold the same tribal beliefs, too, and worship the mountain and tiger gods, but in their domestic rites they make use of the Dēs'asth, or local Marāṭhā Brāhman. The Ṭhākūr are settled in their own villages and possess land and cattle, some of their community being fairly well-to-do. None of these three tribes strays beyond its native haunts.

§ 89. (d) **Nilgiri etc.** (226,300). The comparatively small tribes of the Nilgiri and the vicinity consist of descendants of a fugitive branch of the Kurumban race and of communities the origin of which is uncertain. To the former belong the Kuruman of the western slopes, who are the same, except in locality, as the Kaḍu-Kurubar mentioned under the head of shepherds. The general conjecture is that after the downfall of the Shepherd dynasties of the south-east, some of the race fled into the jungle, where they have since remained. The Irula, who inhabit the broken country to the east of the Nilgiri, are apparently also of the same stock if not belonging to the Coromandel Cencu tribes. Like the Kurubar or Kurumban, they are divided into the section of the plain and that of the forest. The former are more or less Brāhmanised, live in villages and work on the land. The others have the name of Villiyan, evidently derived from the bow, their weapon of choice. Both sections worship the Kannimar at an ant-hill in the jungle, these goddesses being probably the earliest of all the Dravidian pantheon. The Toda and Kōta belong to the table-

land of the Nilgiri, on which they have been isolated from pre-historic time. Both apparently belong to the same stock, but the Kōta admit their inferiority to the others, though having turned out more adaptable to new circumstances they appear to be more prosperous. The Toda are essentially a pastoral community, their sole wealth consisting of their stock of buffaloes. Owing to their residing within an easy morning's walk of a popular hill-station, also the seat of Government for the greater part of the year, the tribe has received abundant notice, and has been to some extent cherished as a valuable asset, being a specimen of what may be called "stall-fed aborigines". There is some justification for this interest in the striking difference in physical appearance between the Toda and most of the surrounding population, as well as in their picturesque houses and mode of life. It is probably, however, that they come from no great distance from their present seat, and their language has been described as "old Kanarese spoken in a gale", but it seems to have closer affinity to Tamil, whilst the invocations more resemble Malayālam, with the Sanskrit strain omitted. The Kōta speak a different dialect, but the two tribes understand each other. It is not improbable, therefore, that they both moved up to the seclusion of the table-land from the Malabar forests in the neighbourhood of the Wainād or possibly even from Coorg. In the ranges south of the Nilgiri are found several small forest tribes, most of whom live in as wild a state as the present conditions allow. The Kanikkar of Travancore are thought to be, like the Kurumban, the descendants of a race once holding dominion over the surrounding plains, but driven to the hills by invaders from the north. The title appears to indicate, like Bhūmiā and its synonyms, the first claim to the soil, and this seems to be in harmony with their position in relation to the Brāhmanic castes below the hills, who treat them as considerably purer than the menials of the village or farm. They live by rude cultivation on the wood-ash system for a part of the year, and then trust to hunting and the sale of jungle produce for the rest. They are skilled in archery, and face elephants and tigers with success. The Malāyarāyan, or Arayan of the hills, are more settled than the Kanikkar, and have well-built villages, with considerable areas of cultivated land. In some respects they bear a striking resemblance to the Toda, as in not labouring for hire, but their reputation for practical sorcery deprives them of the sympathy of the residents of the coast. Other hill-tribes with the same title as the above or one closely resembling it, live in the forests east of the Malabar district, with a similar fame as wizards and casters of spells. All these tribes have been the subject of inquiries in the course of the Ethnographic Survey, and till recently but little was known about them.

§ 90. In the low ranges along the Coromandel coast, known as the Eastern Ghāṭs, a few wandering tribes are still to be found subsisting by hunting, the collection of fruit and the sale of firewood to the villages round. The Yānādi and the Cencu are connected with each other, and according to the tradition among the former, the Cencu took refuge amongst the Yānādi when driven from their home in the west. The Yānādi call themselves Anāḍulu, or autochthonous. The two have the same tribal deity, named Cencu, and worship without Brāhmins or apparently priests of any sort. It may be noted, also, that Cencu is the title of a subdivision of the Gadabā tribe, further north, as well as of a section of the Yānādi, and that the same name is given to the Irula in the uplands of Mysore.

It is not improbable, therefore, that the tribes may be connected, and that all came from the north, the Irula having settled in the forests of the transverse range uniting the eastern Ghats with the western, at the Nilgiri. Another hypothesis is that the Yānadi may have been influenced in their religion by the immigrant Cencu; but the ethnology of all these tribes rests largely on vague surmise. It used to be held that the languages spoken by the Yānadi and Cencu were separate dialects of Telugu, but it appears from recent inquiry that they are nothing more than the rural vernacular spoken with a peculiar drawl and some differences in pronunciation. Both tribes by preference live by what they can pick up in the jungle, and sell fruit, honey and firewood in the villages of the plain. The Cencu, too, occasionally breed cattle, and the Yānadi tell fortunes. Both consider themselves above the leather-workers and lower menials of the villages.

§ 91. **Assam Tribes.** The racial movements which have taken place in this part of India were cursorily set forth in the Introduction. (Owing, no doubt, to the comparatively recent date at which successive settlements have occurred, and also, to the natural isolation of some of the tracts, which have thus been unaffected by alien inroads, the racial concentration coincides, as a rule, with the geographical position. There are exceptions, of course, as in the Central Belt, where a tribe has been cut off from its fellows, or the new-comers have been unable to effect a continuous occupation, but in most cases the tribes in question can be dealt with in groups which are geographical as well as racial.

The general results of the Ethnographical Survey of Assam have not yet been published (1909), but several valuable monographs upon particular tribes have been prepared by local officers specially qualified for the task, and some of these have been utilised in the last three Census Reports. The numerical strength of the tribes, however, which it is the main object of the Census to discover, is not altogether satisfactorily represented by the returns, partly because of the variety of language current amongst these communities, which has the result of giving to many of the latter a title unknown within their own body. The influence of Brāhmanism, moreover, upon the numerous less civilised tribes by which it is here surrounded, turns the scale adversely to accurate ethnographic nomenclature. Members of a tribe who decide upon conformity with Brāhmanic observances are apt to signify their breach with the past by adopting the name of an existing caste, with or without a qualifying epithet. Taking an example from one of the larger communities, a Kacari does not make use of that name, but calls himself Bārā, and when he is dallying with the outworks of Brahmanism, he is a Sarāṇiyā, or a Sarāṇiyā Kōc. Once the plunge taken, the prefix is dropped, and he becomes Kōc. In due course, if he thrives, he dies Rājbaṇsi. As the same course is followed by the Lalung, Mikir and Gāro tribes, the identity of the convert is lost in an all-embracing title, once racial, but now sunk into nothing more than the designation of a loosely knit and heterogeneous Brahmanic caste. Thus the remarkable variation in the numbers returned for a tribe between one Census and another is attributable to little more than additional care in the discrimination between local terms, and, on the whole, the later enumeration may fairly be taken as more correct than its predecessor. There are other causes of variation, but they are exceptional. One tribe suffered more severely than others from the serious



epidemic, called the "black disease", which ravaged the valley a few years back: another, the bulk of which resides beyond the frontier, may have sent more or fewer immigrants into British territory: elsewhere, the Census was extended to tracts in which it was not possible to conduct the operations ten years before, and so on. Even now, there are tribes of considerable importance dwelling in the north-eastern and eastern hills, which have not yet been enumerated.

The information available, then, extends to the main Bôdo group of the Brahmaputra valley and the Gâro Hills: the Khâsi of the hills bearing that name; the Mikir, similarly identifiable to the east, the Nâgâ and the Kuki-Lushêi, to the east and south, and to the small Šan tribes in the north-east. It is imperfect in the case of the Nâga and the Cin, and also as regards the Himâlayan tribes skirting the northern edge of the Brahmaputra valley. Of all the tribes comprised in these groups not more than two or three claim to have been always where they now are, and even in these cases it is probable that it is only the tradition of immigration from the north-east which has been lost. The different waves of migration which landed most of them in their present home took place at such long intervals and from such various sources that there are few general characteristics common to the Mongoloidic population in the aggregate. In regard to religion, most of them profess the belief in one deity above the rest, but as he is passively benevolent only, the tribal worship has to be directed chiefly to the propitiation of local agencies which are actively malignant. This object is attained by the sacrifice of some animal, varying according to the occasion from a fowl to a buffalo, with a pig as a good working intermediate offering. The tribes of the valley have in some cases a levitical clan of priests, but generally, the officiator at the ceremonies is a medicine-man, either elected or hereditary, belonging to the tribe or clan. Occasionally, especially in the eastern hills, the village headman presides. In many tribes there is a belief in a future state, mixed with the possibility of the return of ghosts of deceased members of the tribe. Those who have seen a good deal of the everyday life of these bodies testify to their sound notions of tribal honour and morality, though in regard to strangers their institutions are apt to prove repellent. Amongst all the Nâgâ tribes, for instance, and some of the Kuki and Cin, the custom of collecting the heads of members of other communities is only kept down where the British Government has established itself firmly, the inclination towards this form of vanity being as strong as ever. Other tribes used habitually to raid their neighbours for girls and boys to be kept as household slaves, the offspring being formed into a separate community, as is the case in the west of India. The village and its constitution, too, presents many interesting points of difference amongst the wilder tribes, and whilst most of the latter are content with the rude jungle cultivation which prevails amongst the Kôl tribes, others have struck out a line of their own, and grow superior crops, in one case by means of an elaborate and almost unique system of irrigation. Some tribes are divided into exogamous clans, mostly totemistic, so far as is known at present: others live in village communities, each under its own ruler, independent of the rest. These, it may be assumed, are closely stockaded and in a good situation for defence. Others acknowledge the sway of a local Chieftain owning several such villages. The unregenerate tribesman of the valley, builds his house on a platform and enters

it by a ladder; whilst on conversion, he builds on ground-level and goes in by a door. Omens, divination and witchcraft prevail throughout.

§ 92. (a) **Bôdo** (817,300). Dealing first with the Brahmaputra valley, the principal tribe still in occupation is the Bôdo, or Kacari. It is now chiefly found along the northern bank, from the western limit of the Province to the Darrang district. Formerly, however, it possessed territory far to the east and south, and in the latter direction it is still the principal population of the Hill Kacâr tract, received, it is said, as a dowry from Tipparah, in the palmy days of Bodo dominion. The Bodo are undoubtedly of trans-Himalayan origin, but it is uncertain by what route and stages they reached the valley. It is said that they first rose into power in the north-east of the latter tract, and spread down the river and across it as they approached the plains. They have no traditions, and belong to the peoples of whom it has been said 'their languages are their history'. Upon that basis, they are allied to the Garo, Mec, Râbhâ, Lalung and Tipparah tribes, and also to the Kôc. In the present day the Bodo are a sturdy, independent, and remarkably clannish community of labourers. They have none of the objections of the hill tribes to seasonal migration, and frequent in large numbers the teagardens of the upper valley. Their tribal subdivision seems to be different in the Hill country from what it is in the valley. In the former exogamous sections are strictly maintained, but in the latter, such as there are seem to be weakening in vigour, and though nominally kept up, and the clan name still descending in the male line, marriages are no longer regulated in accordance with them, nor is the totemistic prohibition regarded, except, perhaps, to the extent that the tiger clan are not allowed to abuse that animal when shot, as the rest do. The number of the tribal population is considerably more than the figure here quoted, since many of the converts to Brâhmanism, as above stated, do not retain their tribal name, and whole villages in Upper Assam are inhabited by pure Bodo, though that title is not returned by a single family. Across the Brahmaputra, mainly in the range bearing their name, are the Garo. These claim to be autochthonous, but their tongue and customs indicate a close relationship to the Bodo and to the Lalung, a neighbouring tribe on the east, of the same race. The Garo are not found far from their hills, but a few thousands have made their way into the adjacent district of Bengal and across the river into Goâlpara. The tribe is much subdivided. There are four main clans, each of which has its numerous exogamous sections. In religion the Garo resemble the Bôdo, and have the same system of propitiating the malignant deities through the Kamal, a non-hereditary priest, corresponding to the Deori of the others. The Lalung are now found on the north slope of the Jaintyâ hills, spreading into the valley bordering the Mikir country, with apparently a tendency to advance still more to the eastwards. Traditions differ as to their original home. Some clans say they came from the south bank of the Brahmaputra, others that they are wholly Jaintyâ, and have never lived anywhere else. They do not appear to have been in the low country when the Âhom invasion took place, in the 13th and 14th centuries. It is said that they are succumbing to the influence of Brâhmanism, but if this be so, they must either change their name on conversion or the enumerators at the Census must ignore their tendencies, as they are recorded as wholly Animistic in their beliefs. There is no doubt, however, that they are dropping their tribal language

in favour of that of the lowlands. The number of exogamous subdivisions into which the tribe is split up is very large, and it does not appear that they are usually totemistic as a rule, but are named after some peculiarity of the founder. The Rābhā is a tribe certainly of Bōdo blood but whether a distinct community, allied to the Gāro, or merely a branch of the Bōdo, alongside of whom it is chiefly found, is not determined. Some have thought that the Rābhā was a name given to a half-converted Gāro or Kacārī, and it is certain that there are Gāro who have become Rābhā without passing into Brāhmanists, just as the Kacārī passes into the same community without proceeding to the grade of Kōc. The converts constitute a sub-tribe by themselves. On the whole, the Rābhā hold themselves to be above the Bōdo, but marry girls from the latter. The Bōdo, on the other hand, does not marry a Rābhā without some purificatory rites. The special dialect of the Rābhā is said to be dying out in favour of Assamese, and the people who join the Brāhmanists call themselves Kōc, so the tribe is on the way to extinction. The Mēc live mostly in the Tarāi on the west of the Brahmaputra, partly in Assam, partly in Bengal. From their comparatively fair complexion and Mongoloidic features they are affiliated to the Bōdo, though they have no tradition of ever having lived out of the Tarāi. They intermarried with the Kōc Chiefs, a fact which seems to support the theory of Bōdo relationship. Towards the west, in Bengal, they are chiefly Brāhmanists, and divided into two endogamous sub-tribes, one of which intermarries with the Dhimāl, a tribe of different race, possibly Kōl or sub-Himālayan Nēpālī. The Assam Mēc have kept up customs much resembling those of the Lālūng. A small tribe, akin to the Gāro and Bōdo, called Hājōng, inhabits the southern slopes of the Gāro hills, and has made its way into the Sūrma valley. This descent into the plain appears to have resulted in the formation of two clans, the upper, which remains true to its tribal ways of life, and the Brāhmanised community of the valley. The latter have also abandoned their tribal dialect in favour of a corrupt form of Bengali, the others speaking one of the varieties of Gāro. Detached from the main body of the Bōdo is the Mrūng, called Tipparah by the Bengali, and now inhabiting the hills near the little State called by the latter name. A few of them are found in the Sūrma valley, but most of these are said to be immigrants of quite recent arrival. Formerly the connection between the tribes was closer, as the Chiefs of Kacār and Tipparah intermarried. Now, the only link is that of language, as the bulk of the Mrūng are Brāhmanised, the Chief claiming to be a Rājput, and the nobles to belong to the Rājbanśi order. The tribe is much subdivided, some clans holding an position far above that of the labourers and rude cultivators of the interior. Many of them are much fairer than any of their neighbours, and this, with their Mongoloidic features and Bōdo speech, seems to connect them with the Brahmaputra rather than with the hills of Arakan. Last of the tribes coming within this group is the formerly dominant community of the Cūtiyā, which, however, repudiates the connection with the Bōdo indicated by their language. They are said in the ancient Assam histories to have come down from the north-east, and to have founded a kingdom in that corner of the valley afterwards expanding southwards into Sibsāgar and Nowgong. They came into contact with the Āhōm, and were dethroned in 1500. Before that date they were in part Brāhmanised, and their community is now divided into the Brahmanic, the Āhōm, the Borāhi, or pork-

eat, and the Dēōri, or Levitical body. The two first have been for some time almost completely converted to Brāhmanism, and the fourth, though standing out for some generations, has now succumbed, on social considerations, it is said, rather than by religious conviction. The Borāhi are a lower class and were the first to fall before the Āhōm, who reduced them to a servile condition. They are now apparently almost extinct as a separate community. The Cūtiyā have lost, along with their religion, their tribal language, which is closely allied to that of the Bōdo. They are no doubt of the same origin, but have long been separated politically as well as geographically, and occupied in upper Assam the same dominant position which the Bōdo held lower down the river. At present the majority of the Cūtiyā are found to the south of the Brahmaputra, in Sibsagar, Nowgong, and Lakhimpur. The Dēōri have remained in and about their original seat in the extreme north-east. The principal object of their worship is Durgā, who was enthroned in place of the numerous evil spirits to whom the tribe paid homage before their conversion. Even now, the services of Brāhmins are not called for, and the sacrifices are performed by the Dēōri and his assistants. The more Mongoloid appearance of the remnants of the Dēōri clan seem to indicate that they have kept themselves freer from intercourse with the Bōdo and Āhōm than the rest of the Cūtiyā. One of their social peculiarities worth mentioning is the habit of lodging a whole family under one roof, enlarging the building as the numbers increase, until sometimes more than a hundred persons are thus sheltered. Their professed Brahmanism sits very lightly upon both priest and layman, and is almost confined indeed to the observance of the initiatory injunction of offering prayers, keeping secret the instructions of the Gōsāi and paying their annual fee to that functionary.

§ 93. (b) **The Himālayan tribes** (48,000). Though few of these, and those not the more important, have descended into British territory, they may be briefly mentioned here owing to some alleged connection between them and the Bōdo race, a tie, however, which has long been severed. The Miri is the only tribe which has settled in British territory to any considerable extent. It is found in the Sibsagar and Lakhimpur districts, and seems to be receiving recruits from the hills to the north of the latter and from Darrang. The Miri say that they were invited down by the Āhōm Chief at the end of the 18th century, in order to help him against the invading Khamti, and settled on the outskirts of the Naga hills, by the Disang. They have preserved their original type in spite of considerable defections from the tribal religion. Brāhmanism, however, affects them but superficially, and those who have nominally accepted the guidance of the Gōsāi, are now, it is said reverting, because the change of faith has not induced the settled population of the valley to intermarry with them or to accord them any better position than before they paid toll to their spiritual adviser and renounced beef. In any case they do not entrust their principal sacrifices to other than their own tribal priests. They are good cultivators, and their women folk work with them in the field. The Hill Miri, who only visit the plains for the purpose of trading, are much less advanced, and have a somewhat different worship and belief from the others. All the Miri are connected with the Ābor, a stronger race, and it is conjectured that it was the pressure of these northern kinsfolk which drove the Miri to the lowlands. It is advisable to note that the name of Miri which means Middlemen in Assamese, is not known to



the tribe itself, any more than that of Ābor is recognised except in the valley. The latter means Independent, and is thus appropriate enough. Both tribes speak of themselves by their clan, without any more general designation. The Ābor have not yet settled to any great extent within British territory, but have more than once made raids therein, which resulted in punitive expeditions. Their clans are very numerous, but are remarkable for the unanimity with which they combine into a tribal whole for purposes of resistance or plunder. They used to be keen on the capture of girls and boys, whom they kept as household slaves themselves, and sold for the same purpose to their kinsmen, the Daphlā, who live the other side of the Miri, on the west. The Daphlā, who call themselves Nyising — the meaning of both terms being unknown — regard the Ābor as the leading tribe of their race and the Miri as poor relations, and all three speak much the same tongue, and to some extent, have the same titles for their sub-tribes. The religions present the same general features, and the Ābor and Daphlā have not been reached even by the light touch of the Miri form of Brāhmanism. The Āka, a tribe adjacent to the Daphlā on the west, though mainly of the old faith, has a few members who are reported to have been converted by one of their Chiefs, who chanced to be compelled to serve a certain time in a British jail, where his convictions were modified by a persuasive Gōsāi. The Āka, though generally thought to belong to the Ābor-Miri race, differ considerably from both of these in appearance, and show but little tendency to settle in the lower ranges. On the contrary, they are in close relations with the Tibet authorities on the other side. They are a warlike community, and in addition to their general title which is not used by them, and the meaning of which is unknown, they have two subdivisions, each of which is known to the Assamese by a title implying plunder.

§ 94. (c) **The Khāsi and Sainteng** (159,500). These tribes belong to the same stock and speak the same language. The former reside in the western portion of the range bearing their name, whilst the Sainteng share with the Lālūng the Jaintyā portion of the same range. In treating of languages it was pointed out that these two, with two smaller communities of the same tract, appear to be the remnants of a wave of the Mōn-speaking race, left stranded by the main body. They have no traditions of any other home, and differ considerably from the surrounding tribes in customs as in speech. The numerous exogamous Khāsi clans, for instance, are based upon descent from a female ancestor. Inheritance is in the female line, and the woman is the head of the family. No money or gift passes on marriage, and the young couple do not set up house until a child is born. The religion is the usual propitiation of evil spirits, with a faint and dim notion of a future state in which husband and wife rejoin each other, unless a widow has married again, in which case she belongs to her second. Of late the Khāsi have been converted in considerable numbers to Christianity, and a few have become Brāhmanists. The Sainteng show less disposition to change. On the other hand, though sharing the religion and customs of the Khāsi, they appear to have received a greater admixture of foreign blood, due, it is thought, to the greater accessibility of the Jaintyā hills from the plains on the south. The Khāsi, again, are divided into petty States or independent groups of villages, each forming a little republic under its own head. In the sister hills, the country is altogether under the Chief of Jaintyā, who appoints twelve local officials to carry on

the village affairs. The Chief himself is a Brāhmanist, but his example, as just mentioned, has not been contagious, and the annual tribal devil-drive, in which every male takes part, is as popular as ever.

§ 95. (d) **The Mikir** (87,300). This tribe inhabits the lower portion of the Khāsī range on the north-east and has spread over the plain to the east, up to the Nāgā hills. The traditions it has regarding its former home are vague and valueless, but it probably occupied the low range which goes by its name after leaving the Jaintyā hills. From the language, it is supposed to have some affinity to the Nāgā race, though in habits and appearance it might well be affiliated to the Bōdo. The Mikir call themselves *Ārleng*, meaning simply Man, an appellation so common amongst forest tribes that it affords no guide to identification. They are subdivided into several large sections which may, but do not, intermarry. Their chief god is benevolent and powerful, but his subordinates, though theoretically less in authority, are more active, and generally work mischief. The sacrifices to them, accordingly, are more frequent. They are conducted by priests who are selected from the elders of the clan, whether men or women. The Mikir are excellent agriculturists in their own line and keen traders in disposing of their crops. They are peculiar amongst their kind in these parts in not congregating in large villages, but in building a few large houses close to their fields. They are great breeders of buffaloes, but, like almost all hill-tribes, Kōl or Mongoloid, they abstain from making use of milk. Until recently they had resisted the temptation to embrace Brāhmanism, but of late a certain number on the southern limits of their tract have begun, it is said, to observe certain restrictions in diet when out of their own village. Physically, the Mikir stand second to the Bōdo and above the rest of the tribes here mentioned. Whatever may be their connection with the Nāgā or other races, they themselves deny any relationship with their neighbours.

§ 96. (e) **The Nāgā tribes** (162,800). This name is applied by the outside world of Assam to a collection of tribes occupying a considerable hilly region between Mañipur and the south bank of the Brahmaputra. The communities themselves know of no general title, and their tribal designations are seldom those by which they are called by their neighbours. A large amount of information about them has been collected in connection with the Ethnographic Survey, and until this is given to the world, no adequate account of them is available. It is probable that they reached their present locality from two directions. One branch came down from the north-east, whilst a later section doubled back northwards, after having spent some time alongside of the Kuki and other tribes, to the south. The largest tribe, as far as is at present known, is the Angāmī, called *Tengima* by its own members. It is settled along the western ranges of the hills, and is one of the communities said to have come from the south. The *Tengima* reside in unusually large villages, some containing as many as 800 houses. The villages are set upon a hill, and carefully stockaded and guarded against attack. The unit of the tribe is not, however, the village, but a subdivision of the population thus concentrated, called *Khel* or *Tēpfu*, exogamous, and said to be derived from a single ancestor. Faction-fights between these bodies are frequent and used to be bloody, as outside aid was called in to take part. The large size of their villages is probably the result of their adoption, apparently from the Mañipuri, of the system of permanent cultivation by irrigated channels, carried with extraordinary

skill and labour round the slopes of the hills. They have the usual vague tribal belief in a supreme god and a future state, though they have not formulated their notions of what happens to the soul when it leaves the body. Their worship is devoted to the propitiation of the spirits of nature, who inhabit pools, trees and rocks, and cause illnesses. The beginning and the end of harvest are celebrated, as in the valley, with elaborate festivals. The Āo Nāgā tribe came from the north, and is settled to the north-east of the hills. The men are inferior to the Tengima in physique and in their way of life, but their buildings and villages are, if anything, superior. Beyond a few special tribal customs, the two tribes have much the same beliefs and practices. The Āo are really two communities, the Cūngli and Mongsen, which speak different dialects and intermarry, each having its own exogamous sub-sections. The enslavement of members of neighbouring tribes used to be a regular custom, now, of course more or less suppressed. The victims were treated well, except when paid over as fine or ransom to another village, when they were usually sacrificed. The villages, though nominally governed by a headman, are in practice independent democratic units. The Sema, or Sima, village, on the contrary, under the adjacent tribe, has a hereditary headman, or Chief, endowed with considerable authority and privileges. This tribe came from the south east, near Kōhima, and has occupied a considerable tract round its present settlement. The Sima are more akin to the Tengima than to any other of the local tribes, but are distinguished even among the Nāgā, for their barbarism and ferocity. They used to prey upon the lands of the Āo, but having been headed off under British control, they are spreading eastwards, over a wilder country. The Lhōta, in contradistinction to the Sima, are a quiet and industrious people, though they adhere to the old method of cultivating on burnt patches of jungle. They manage, nevertheless, to grow a good deal of cotton, which they convey themselves to the river for sale. In habits they resemble the Rengma, their neighbours. A section of the latter, being evilly entreated by other tribes, sought the lower hills, east of the Mikir, where they alone of all the Nāgā have taken to something approaching the life of the population of the plains. As to the large number of tribes in this group which live in the interior and south of the hills, little information beyond their titles is at present available.

§ 97. (f) **The Kuki tribes** (200,200). Almost the same remark applies to these, with the exception of the Manipuri and Luṣēi. In the Kacār hills are found some called the "Old Kuki" (67,200), who were driven north by others of the same race, who, in turn, were being pressed hardly by the Luṣēi. The principal tribes of the former are the Rāngkōl and the Bētē. They are subdivided into eight social grades, like castes, with the all-important difference that they intermarry with each other and with other tribes. The existence of exogamous clans is probable, but the nomenclature obtained at the Census throws no light upon this point. The Rāngkōl, and probably the other tribes, worship one chief and several minor deities, and select one of their own clan to serve as priest. In Kacār they are beginning to mould their diet upon Brāhmanic lines but not so as to interfere materially with their ancestral habits. They differ from the other Kuki in having no Chief, but they elect a headman for each village to manage its affairs. The population of Manipur is divided into four tribes, the Khumāl, the Luyang, the Ningthauja or Meithēi, and the Mayarang, of which the Meithēi (69,400) seems to have absorbed the others,

and is used as a general title by the inhabitants. The exogamous subdivisions of the tribes, however, are still in existence, and seem to consist of the descendants of an individual, by whose trade or nickname the section is called. In 1720, the then Chief, called by the Muslim title of Gharib Navaz, was persuaded by some Brāhmans at his court that he and his subjects were Kṣatriya of the Lunar race. The monarch thereupon embraced their creed and was invested with the sacred thread, and with him a large number of his people. Since then, not only have most of the Meithei become Kṣatriya, but the rank has been conferred by the Chief upon a plentiful supply of recruits from the surrounding Kuki and Nāgā tribes. The result is that at the Census only 33 of the inhabitants of the State returned the tribal name, whilst the 33,000 Manipuri found on the record are bastard Bengālī enumerated in Kacar and its vicinity. The Brāhmans who first entered the State upon their mission of conversion were given wives of the class of Kēi, or Nāgā slaves of the Chief, into which body their descendants also married, so that the sacerdotal caste does not bear any special title to respect in the eyes of the local Kṣatriya, to whom many of them act as cooks, for the convert is most particular as to diet and intercourse with his inferiors. Nevertheless, they have 300 deities of the old worship who are still propitiated through the native priest, or Maiba, and in every house hangs the basket containing the household god. The connection of the ruling family with the Jādav clan has naturally attracted the Manipuri Kṣatriya to Mathurā, the centre of Kṛṣṇa-worship, where a small colony of them appears to reside. They also observe the great Kṛṣṇa festivals in their native country. The Lōi clan of the population seem to be descended from the Mayarang, and now to constitute a sort of receptacle for anyone degraded from the Kṣatriya class. The Lōi are the helots and labourers of the State, and the original families of the clan have their own dialect. It seems, however, that a Lōi who embraces Brahmanism and has never been degraded from any other position, may be made at once a Kṣatriya.

§ 98. (g) **The Luṣēi** (63,600). This people, who call themselves Dulien, are of the same race as the Thado, or Kuki, whom they drove out some sixty or seventy years ago. Long previous to that date, however, a Chief of the Luṣēi had subjugated most of the hill villages around him, and his descendants are said to be the progenitors of the present numerous Chieftains who rule the tract. The clans and subdivisions are many, but they seem constantly to be being absorbed or reformed, always with reference to connection with the eponymous founder. Each village is under one of these petty Chieftains, who is entirely independent but has recognised duties towards his fellow villagers, and in return receives a certain share of each man's rice crop. The only remedy against a too despotic headman is to flit, and transfer allegiance to another village. The village itself is stockaded, like those of the Nāgā, but is laid out differently, the streets radiating from a square in the centre, in front of the house of the Chieftain. Except in detail, the religion of the Luṣēi does not materially differ from that of the tribes just mentioned. Like most of the Kuki, the Luṣēi is a keen and expert hunter and snarer, and seems to carry into his warfare the qualities which makes him successful against wild animals, for he rarely attacks except from ambush or by a surprise. The tribe is not given to head-hunting for the mere sake of the trophy, but cuts off the head of his enemy in order to prove to the women at home that he actually killed



him. South of the Luṣēi Hills, the tribes almost entirely belong to Burmese races, with which this review is not concerned.

§ 99. (h) **The Śān tribes** (4,600). The portion of this great race which has found a home in British India is but small, and, with one exception, of comparatively recent settlement. The break-up by the Burmese of the Mau Śān dominion on the upper Irawadi, about 1760, obliged several small bodies of different tribes to cross the Patkai, and settle east of Sadiya, on the Brahmaputra. Amongst these are the Khāmti, Tūrung, Nōrā and Phakiāl. The Khāmti were originally connected with the Āhōm, who will be mentioned later, and it was with the permission of the Āhōm Chief that the former obtained a foothold in Assam. They encroached, however, got into trouble about their practice of raiding for slaves, and were finally scattered about 70 years ago, many returning across the hills to the Irawadi. A few years later another colony appeared and settled in the same tract, where they now are. The Phakiāl also belonged to the Mogaung kingdom, and had to leave when the Burmese overran their country. They did not make direct for Assam, but halted on the way. Being probably pressed by the Singphō, or Kacēn, they accepted the invitation of the Āhōm to settle along the Dihing, and afterwards near Jorhāt, from which, however, they withdrew when the Burmese entered Assam. The Nōrā belong to one of the tribes of the Āhōm which elected to remain on the east of the range when the main body crossed into Assam. They are also called Khamjang, from one of their halting places in the north-east. From this they were ejected about a century ago by the Singphō, and came into Assam for safety. It is said by the Tūrung, another tribe of the same origin, that the Nōrā, having settled in the valley, sent for them to join the colony, and as they were oppressed by Kacēn, they came. On the way, however, they were taken prisoners and enslaved by the Singphō, and were only released on the arrival of a British expedition in 1825. They intermarried with their captors and are accordingly looked down upon by the Nōrā, still more by the Khāmti, who stand at the head of the Śān community of Assam. Tūrung brides are taken by the others, but none are given in return. All the above tribes are Buddhist and have their own priests. The Aitōn, a small band of refugees from the Śān court of Mungkong, settled in two bodies, one near the others of their race, and the other in the Nāgā hills. Both, though professing Buddhism, are gradually becoming Brāhmanised, alike in creed and language. The Census figures for these small communities are anything but accurate, as many are set down simply as Śān, and others as Buddhist, without any tribal title. Finally, there are the Āhōm, the only tribe of long settlement and political importance. They have been mentioned more than once in connection with tribal religion and language, having abandoned their tradition and practice in regard to both. They have preserved, however, a very complete series of histories of their career. From these it appears that they left Mogaung on the Irawadi about 1228, in consequence of a dynastic dispute, and crossed the Patkai into the north-east corner of the province which now bears their name. By 1500 they had subjugated the Cūtiyā; and forty years later, the Kacār or Bōdō dominion fell to them. They recovered from a severe defeat at the hands of the Kōc, and repulsed on several occasions an invasion by the Muslim, getting possession of the valley as far west as Gauhāti, and later, to near Goālpara. Their decline set in on the conversion of the Chief to Brāhmanism. Discontent arose

amongst those who would not follow his example. Some rebelled; the seat of government was withdrawn down the valley; the Burmese were called in, and ended in absorbing the whole kingdom, until the British took possession. It seems that the Āhōm were divided into classes but whether these were endogamous or not is uncertain. The highest class comprises the Chief's family and six or seven others of rank. The middle class is divided functionally, and the third comprises all who are bound to render services to the Chief. There were also Levitical or priestly families. In the present day the distinctions based on occupation and on service formerly rendered are dying out. The whole tribe has become to a greater or less extent Brāhmanised; that is, the spiritual authority of a Gosāi is acknowledged, and some changes in diet are gradually adopted. The priests, as in the case of the Cūtiyā, stood out for some time longer than the rest, but have now conformed. It is curious that whilst the little that remains of the sacred writings of the Āhōm is in a language closely resembling that of the Khāmti, the Āhōm were never Buddhists. It may be inferred from this, perhaps, that the latter had not reached the upper valley by the 13th century. Nowadays, the Āhōm are all nominally Brāhmanists except about 400, and it is said to be only a matter of time for the whole tribe to be absorbed into the various castes of the valley.

§ 100. **The Singphō** (1,800). So few families of the great Kacēn race are found within the borders of India, as the limits of that country are here understood, that the only reason for mentioning them is the reference made above to their interception of bodies of immigrants on their way to Assam. About a century ago a small colony of the northern Kacēn made their way into the same corner of the valley as the rest of the Irawadi races had done, and there they have remained, under their Assamese designation of Singphō, or "the Men". The main feature of interest in connection with them is that the offspring of their alien slaves, who form a separate community called Doānia, now outnumber their former lords and masters. Both are Buddhist in the main, but the Doānia are inclining towards Brāhmanism. About 340 are returned under their tribal religion.

§ 101. **Himālayan (Nēpālī) tribes** (218,600). Of the tribes coming within this group only a few are settled in British territory, and the rest belong to Nēpāl, where no Census has been taken. Almost all of the former class are concentrated in Sikkim, Dārjiling and the immediate neighbourhood, whilst the Nēpālī subjects are either sojourners in or about the same locality, or are serving in the Gorkha regiments in Assam. The Lepca, or, as they call themselves, the Rong, claim to be the original inhabitants of Sikkim, though one of their subdivisions is said to have come down from the Chinese frontier. The Khambu and Limbu assert themselves to belong to the Kirāta race, a pretension which is not allowed by the Yākha, who would limit the territory associated with that ancient title to the tract between the Dūd-Kōsi and the Tambor river, where they live themselves, along with a tribe known there as Jimdār, or Rāis. This title, however, has been appropriated by the Khambu living in the Dārjiling territory, but it would not be allowed to them across the Nēpāl frontier. The Limbu touch the Kirata tract on the west, the Khambu on the north, and the Lepca on the east. The Limbu are amongst the earliest inhabitants of the country where they are still found, and from their appearance it seems that they are originally from Tibet. Their petty Chieftains were in power towards the end of the 18th century, when the Gorkha occupied

Nēpāl, and incorporated the Kirāta land with their new acquisition, after a stout resistance from the Limbu. The latter take rank amongst the Kirāta tribes after the Khambu and before the Yākha, though, as above remarked, in Nēpāl the order may be different as regards the Yākha. A certain number of the Limbu have entered into close relations with the Lepca, intermarrying with them and eating their food, a course which amongst the other Kirāta places them outside their fellows. At the same time, it appears that the Lepca, Mürmi and other Himālayan Mongoloids are admitted into the Limbu ranks after certain ceremonies, whilst the Khambu and Yākha may be adopted without such formalities. The Limbu have their own priests as well as using the exorcists, or Bijua, common to all the tribes of the neighbourhood. They indifferently profess S'aivism when amongst Brāhmanic castes and employ the Lāma at a higher altitude. Probably their real creed is that of old Tibet. Their kinsfolk and neighbours, the Khambu, live on the southern range of the Himālayan system, where those who own land call themselves Jimdār, so that this title has been merged in the general tribal designation at the Census, without reference to the claims of the Yākha mentioned above. They profess Brāhmanism, but employ no Brāhmins, and serve an ancestral deity through Homē, priests corresponding to the Bijua of the other Tibetan communities. They seem to have some faint reminiscence of Buddhism in portions of their worship, and may once have passed through a phase of that creed, like many of the Himālayan tribes. They intermarry with a beef-eating tribe of Khambu from the north of the main range, and on that account, irrespective of the quarrel about nomenclature, are kept at arm's length by the Kirāta of the west. These last, as well as the lower tribes of Kirāta, such as Hāyu, Thāmi, and Danuār, of the Tarāi, are only sparse and occasional residents in British India. The Lepca probably represent two different immigrations from Tibet or its eastern frontier, but the sections are now amalgamated. Amongst the clans, however, two stand above the rest, and do not intermarry with other Lepca or with Limbu, and it is possible that these are the descendants of the semi-Chinese band introduced along with one of the Sikkim Chiefs from across the Tsān-pu. In the present day, the Lepca is working a little more steadily than he was accustomed to do before the British occupied Dārjiling, but he still objects to remaining more than a few years in one locality, and after a season or two of careless cultivation, moves off to fresh woods, in which he can burn enough vegetation to manure his patch of rice or maize. Buddhism is professed by the whole tribe, and their Lāmas are all from Tibet; but against the more actively malevolent spirits the aid of the Bijua or Ōjhā is invoked. Their religion is very much that of the Limbu, behind a veil of Buddhism of the Himālayan type. The Tibetan strain is much more marked in the Mürmi than in most of the tribes hitherto mentioned; indeed, the usual name for the tribe is Tamang Bhōtia, and the subdivisions are almost all Tibetan in their titles. The Mürmi have been long in their present locality, and have half-assimilated a good deal of Brāhmanism which is obscuring the Buddhism they brought with them. But though the Brāhman officiates for them at the festivals of his creed, and the Lāma is called in for marriages, stones, trees and village gods are not neglected, and if a Lāma be not at hand, their worship is carried on by any layman who has mastered the procedure. They rank as a pure caste in Nēpāl, but will eat with the Kirāta and Lepca. The majority of

those enumerated in British territory are probably labourers in the tea gardens of Darjiling. In their native place the Murmi are an agricultural class.

The Nevār, of whom a few thousands are found in the same locality as the Murmi and Kirata, are not a caste, but the aggregate of the early inhabitants of Nepal, differentiated into functional divisions which gradually grew into castes. The Nevār are both Brahmanists and Buddhists, the latter are attracted to the Tibetan frontier, whilst the others are gaining ground on the south ranges and valleys. The two stand absolutely aloof from each other in all social matters. The Nevār in British territory, being away from the strict organisation imposed upon the community by the Chief of the race ruling before the Gorkha, grow very lax in the matter of intermarriage, and thus lose position if they venture back into their native land.

§ 102. The five principal tribes of Nēpāl, known as the Mukhya, are the Khas, the Gūrūng, the Mangar and the Sunuvar. It was the combination of these which overthrew the Nevār rule in the middle of the 18th century, and established that of the Gorkha. The Khas is a thoroughly Brāhmanised community, with a strong admixture of Brāhman blood. On the advent of the Muslim, many Brāhman had to fly for refuge to the hills, where they settled amongst the local tribes and proceeded to bring them into conformity with their own scheme of life. To help on this task the families of highest rank were dubbed Kṣatriya, and the same rank was stipulated for by them for the offspring of their own order by the hill women. These two stocks furnished the now dominant class in the State, with the peculiarity that with Kṣatriya rank the patronymic titles are all Brāhmanic, from the caste of the father. It is also on record, however, that in the 14th century, a Rājput Chief of north Bihār dispossessed an ancient Hill Rājput dynasty, and that the Gorkha Chief who in turn dispossessed the intruder from the plains, was himself a direct descendant of one of the Udēpur line, who fled to Gōrakhpur after defeat by the Muslim, and set up a principality of his own on the upper Gandak. Thus, whilst the Āryan strain is undoubtedly existent in the Khas, the Mongoloidic origin is no less apparent. The Gūrūng rank next to the Khas among the fighting, or Gorkha, tribes. In their case there is no question of mixed origin. Since, however, the Gūrūng has abandoned Buddhism for the creed of his rulers, there has been, as between this tribe and the four others of the Mukhya, not exactly an interchange of brides, but the condonation of the abduction of them from each other. In the tribal worship and ceremonial there remains a good deal of the Himālayan animism, imported, probably, from the interior, and a member of the Lāma sub-caste, though not a professional ministrant, is often substituted for the Brāhman, when there is a suspicion of sorcery or witchcraft. The Mangar and Sunuvār both hail from western Nēpāl, and both made their way east-ward by the same route. Their appearance and the nomenclature of their subdivisions stamp them as Mongoloid of the Tibetan type, though both are now what are called "undeveloped" Brāhmanists, like the rest, and are served by Upadhya Brāhman, who suffer no degradation thereby. Both are agriculturists and soldiers, the Mangar also doing something in the way of petty trade. In connection with the recruiting of so-called Gorkha soldiers, mentioned at the beginning of this paragraph, it should be noted that the term Gorkha is used outside the State of any recruit of a Nēpāl tribe, but it correctly appertains to the Mukhya tribes only. At the same time,



the Nēpāl rulers have for a generation or more taken into their service recruits from the Kirāta tribes, but they are brigaded into regiments by themselves. In the British army, some of the Gōrkha battalions contain a good many of this class, especially in Assam.

### G. Muslim Race Titles.

§ 103. Of the total Muslim population of India nearly 58 per cent bear the titles of races foreign to the country. Those whose names imply Arab descent amount to 30,442,000. About 4,239,000 nominally belong to the tribes on the north-west frontier, and the remaining 434,000 affiliate themselves to races introduced by the Central Asian dynasties which successively ruled from Delhi. It must not be supposed, however, that the proportion of foreign blood is that indicated by the prevalence of the above titles, except in the case of the frontier races, who have naturally overflowed into Sindh and upper India. On the contrary, in some parts of the country, it is said that converts from Brāhmanism are so deeply imbued with the notion of a fourfold division of society, fostered by the traditional sacerdotal partition of the Indian world into Brāhman, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and S'ūdra, that they consider themselves bound, when accepting Islām, to enrol themselves as either Šekh, Saiyad, Muḡhal or Paṭhān. In eastern Bengal, accordingly, the name of Šekh is practically assumed to connote native, instead of foreign, origin. In the Panjāb, again, and the region round Delhi, the long supremacy of the Muḡhal has endowed that race with a halo which is still attractive to the local convert. Nearly nine tenths of the Turk, too, belong to a subdivision of Banjārā, which, as already stated above, adopted Islām en masse; and, finally, nearly all the Arabs of Sindh bear the title of Kalhōrā, the ruling race before the Tālpur. The figures now to be reviewed, then, must be taken with the above qualifications. The latter, it will have been seen, apply most extensively to the communities purporting to belong to the native land of the Prophet, which ought to be the most honourable, as they are the most numerous on the record.

§ 104. (a) **Arabian** (25,441,900). The small number returning themselves as Arab, without detail, might be still further reduced were the Kalhōrā to be treated as an indigenous body, bringing the total down to about 75,000. The returns of Mother-tongue would justify still further diminution, but in the west of India, where the Arab is chiefly found, the community is divided into the Vilāyati, or foreigners, principally from Hadramāt, and the Muwallad, or native-born, the latter being the progeny of Arab or sometimes Makrāni fathers by wives taken from some local Sunnī caste, in whose household the current vernacular is Hindūstāni. The Arabs settled in India permanently are generally guards in the service of native Chief or kept by the principal bankers in the same capacity. The others, true to their secular connection with India, are merchants and traders, with the modern addition of horse-dealing, in connection with the ports on the Persian Gulf. The two small tribes of Hans and Khaggā, in the Panjāb, are also said to be Arabs who came by land and settled north of Multān. They are now apparently merged in the Paṭhān or Jāt tribes. The title of Šekh is widely spread over the country, and, except in the Panjāb and Kashmir, predominates more or less over all Muslim designations. The common practice just referred to, of taking this name on conversion is justified by

the Hadith, or saying of the Prophet "All converts to my faith are of me and my tribe". In Lower Bengal, from which 80 per cent of the Şekh are returned, this title covers 85 per cent of the total Muslim population. In the Muslim State of Haidarâbâd, the corresponding proportion is 70 per cent, and in Mysore, also under rulers of this creed once, it is over 60 per cent. Elsewhere it ranges from 25 to 40. It is smaller, as is to be expected, in upper India where Islam was the State religion, and in the Panjab where conversion does not affect caste or social position, and where, as in the upper Gangetic region, the larger communities often contain a Brâhmanic and a Muslim branch, giving the convert the opportunity of retaining his former status, with a change in his worship only, and often a very slight one even in that. In Bihâr, a province which stands between the ignorance of eastern Bengal and the exclusiveness of the upper valley, it is only the converts of the higher castes, such as Râjput, Bâbhan or Kâyasth, who are allowed to pass directly into a race-title. Those of humbler origin have to spend a time in the probationary grade, as it were, of Nau-Muslim, or raw-recruits, and their further advancement depends upon their conduct or worldly prosperity.

The Şekh are much subdivided, though throughout the greater part of India the sections have little more significance than the main title. Originally, amongst the Arabs, the term denoted eldership or a position of authority only. It subsequently became the special designation of the Qurêş, the tribe to which the Prophet belonged, and of the descendants of his own family and of his relations. Thus, the Banû 'Abbâs Şekh are derived from his uncle, 'Abbâs; the Hâşimî, from his great grandfather; Jâfarî, from his cousin. The Şiddiqî are so called from the first Khalîf, Abu Bakr, named As Şiddiq, or the Truthful One. The second Khalîf, Omar, was called Fârûq, the Distinguisher of Right from Wrong, and from him come the Farûqî. The Anşârî, or Helpers, were the inhabitants of Al Medînah, who sheltered the Prophet, and so on with several more of these subdivisions. In some Provinces the details of Şekh have been tabulated, but for the most part the value of the return is vitiated by the preponderance of those who failed to have this information entered against their names. At best, except in the north, the return indicates in most cases no more than the personal preference of the householder. In the Gangetic region, so far as the information goes, the favourite section is decidedly the Şiddiqî, and after it, the Qurêşî. In the Panjab, too, and in Sindh the Qurêşî have been separately given, but the return is only partial.

The Saiyad, a title said to be derived from Sûd, gain, are, strictly speaking, the descendants of 'Alî, cousin of the Prophet, who became his son-in-law, and the line is generally limited to his offspring by Faţma, not by his other wives. Thus the primary division of the Saiyad is into the claimants through Hasan and those through Hussain, the proto-martyrs of the faith, but many call themselves after other relatives of the Prophet, using the same titles as the Şekh. Others have adopted geographical names, such as Bûkhârî, Sabzawârî, Bilgramî, Bârha, the two last being descended from a celebrated Saiyad of 'Irâq, whose family settled in upper India, like many others, in the train of one of the Muslim conquerors. Probably in all the tracts surrounding Delhi and the principal seats of Muslim authority there are families of Saiyad who hold their estates by inheritance from ancestors who rendered distinguished service to the Mughal power either in the field or in administration. Indeed, one family is said

to have "made four Timurides emperors, dethroned and killed two, and blinded and imprisoned three". The genealogy of most of the Saiyad of India, however, is not so well attested, and, apart from the selection of this rank by converts of high Brāhmanic caste, which is a practice said to have received the approval of the great Emperor Akbar, it is reported to be not uncommon for a Muslim changing his sect from Sunnī to Šī'ah, to signify his belief in the rank of 'Alī as premier Khalīf, by adopting himself into the company of the Apostles. Nevertheless, far down to the south, there are Saiyad settled whose forefathers followed the fortunes of some one or other of the Muslim invaders, and who now, though in some cases reduced to take to lowly occupations for a living, generally hold to their rank and intermarry only with other Saiyad, or members of the Mughal or Paṭhān races, and occasionally, but as seldom as possible, with some respectable local family of the same sect. For there are, it should be noted, Sunnī Saiyad as well as those of the Šī'ah sect, to which, in theory, all ought to belong. In the western Panjāb the Saiyad is usually a religious teacher, irrespective of race or descent, and too often is a member of "that pestilential horde of holy men, who not only prey upon the substance of the people but hold them in the most degrading bondage". "The Paṭhān is a bigoted Sunnī, yet he maintains more Saiyad than the Balūc, once known as "the friends of 'Alī".

§ 105. (b) **Mongol** (394,600). Of the two races which entered India with the Ghaznavides and later, the Turk and the Mughal, it is hard to say which is the more unduly magnified in the Census returns. The inclusion among the former of the Turkiyā sub-caste of Banjārā has been mentioned. Then, too, in Bihār and round Delhi, Turk is the equivalent amongst the peasantry for any official, especially if he be of the creed of Islām, and Mughal serves the same purpose in Orissa and the east Dekkan. The real Turk in the north is the traveller or merchant from Turkistān, who is a temporary sojourner in Kashmir and Peshāwar. The only permanent colony is that left by Timur in Hazāra at the end of the 14th century. In the west coast, in Bombay and a few other towns, and in Haidarābād, there are probably a few families of Osmanlī. The Mughal element, in the south and east is better defined, as the convert of those parts does not affect the title, and those who bear it are probably correctly described, being as they are, the representatives of families brought into Bengal and the south Dekkan by the semi-independent Viceroy of Delhi. In the north there is the tendency already mentioned to assume the title of Mughal on conversion or on rising in the world, which is found in the parts of the Panjāb where Islām predominates but the Paṭhān influence is not supreme. Along the Jamnā, however, there are considerable numbers of true immigrants, settled upon estates conferred upon their family by the Turk Emperors, from Bābar downwards. The distinction between Turk and Mughal, however, is not in such cases very clearly drawn, and subdivisions are returned which are common to both, as, for instance, Turkman, Qizilbaş, and even Caghātāi, the tribe of Bābar. As a rule, the Mughal and Paṭhān, assuming them to be of really pure descent, are not considered, away from the frontier, at all events, as equal in rank to the Saiyad and Šekh, and their position, consequently, depends a good deal upon that of the family in its neighbourhood. In the interior, too, there is a tendency to introduce endogamous subdivisions, or more correctly, perhaps, to make existing sections endogamous. There is also,

at the lower edge of these communities, a fringe of dependents who are either bastards of the upper classes, as among the Rājputs, or have taken the title of their employers and patrons on conversion. These do not intermarry with the Mughal or better families of the Šekh. In the west of India, in addition to the Caghatai, there is a considerable sprinkling of Persian settlers and refugees, who go by the name of Mughal. They are strict Šī'ah and do not intermarry with Indian Muslim. Most of them have engaged in trade. The Caghatai, on the other hand, have become almost an integral part of the Muslim masses, and are Sunnī, with the customs, language, and religious observances of their neighbours.

§ 106. (c) **The Pathān and Balūc** (4,287,000). If the hypothesis of the identity of the Pathān with the Paktyes of Herodotus be true, as is now generally believed, these tribes must have been from time immemorial neighbours of India, and even occupants of some part of the territory which is now included in that country. Some of them, again, were people amongst whom Brāhmanism found a favourable reception, and then, Buddhism, the latter especially lingering long in these secluded valleys and on the high road to India which passes near them. The Pathān, however, accepted with equal zeal and devotion the exceedingly narrow and superstitious form of Islām now current amongst them, and anything less like the mild and tolerant character of the Indian Buddhist than the present temperament and habits of the frontier men of nowadays can hardly be imagined. At the same time, the Pathān, like all highlanders in the tribal stage, has his charm in his virile independence and his strict observance of the national code of hospitality and asylum, even towards an enemy — the great solace of his life. It cannot be denied, however, that the epithet of "faithless", universally appended to his name by those who have to deal with him, is, like most of the proverbial sayings of the country-side, very well deserved, by at all events the hillmen. Those who have settled in the plains of the Panjāb, even though within easy reach of their fellow tribesmen of the highlands, are soon softened by their circumstances, and the more they prosper the less respect they show for the hard life they have left behind. In the interior of India there is no Province or State without its quota of this race, and, no doubt, looking at the extent to which soldiers of fortune were settled by their victorious employers upon the land overrun by them, there is a good deal of real Pathān blood disseminated amongst them, but not to anything like the amount indicated on the face of the returns for regions like Bengal or the peninsula. In the former, indeed, the title of Pathān is regarded as the right of a converted member of a Brāhmanic military caste, and the further detail of selecting a tribe or clan presents no more difficulty to him than that of a Rājput clan does to an aspiring Kōl.

The term Pathān is now used to denote any one speaking the Pakhtūn language, or Paštū, and thus includes the Afghān, a foreign race which, however, has impressed its name upon the whole country. The Afghān, whose Jewish origin is insisted on by several authorities, and regarded as unproved by others, first settled in the hill tracts of Ghor and Hazāra. Thence they descended upon the Helmand valley, which was in the occupation of the Gandhārī, a Pathān tribe expelled from the Peshāwar valley by one of the Scythian invaders. These people were dominated and then converted by the Afghān, who finally intermarried freely with them. The Gandhārī, however, took the first opportunity of reverting to their former



seat, where, under the names of Yūsufzāi, Mohmand, etc., they now reside. The Afghāns, by this time known as Tarin, Širānī, and Abdālī, or Durrānī, remained round Kandahār until the 18th century, when they transferred their headquarters to Kābul. The Ghilzāi, a Turk tribe which is Pathān but not Afghān, arrived across the Bāmiān from Ghor, like its predecessors. After rendering great assistance to Maḥmūd of Ghazni on his raids into India, the Ghilzāi took possession of the country between Jellālābād and Qal'at-i-Ghilzāi, and have since spread east and west from that nucleus. In addition to the Gāndhārī just mentioned, the Paktyes contained, according to ancient writers, the Aparytai, or Āfridi; the Sattagyday, or Khatak, and the Dadikai, or Dādi, all of whom are ascribed to an Indian origin. Along with the Afghān, Ghilzāi, the Scythic Kākar, the Wazirī (said to be Parmār Rājputs), and a few Turk accretions brought down by Sabaktagin and his successors, these tribes constitute the Pathān of to-day. The territories occupied by the ancient people of that name, however, have been much altered. The Kākar nearly obliterated the Dadi in Sewistān; the Khatak and Āfridi were dispossessed by the Turk to a great extent. But through the operation of intermarriage and the adoption by all of the Paštū language, the whole has been welded into one nation, with the usual fictions as to common descent to explain the fusion.

The modern Pathān inhabitants of upper India were first introduced by the Lōdī and Sūr dynasties, and consisted chiefly of Ghilzai, who were not Afghān, nor, at that time, Pathān. They were soon followed, however, by large bands of other tribes, who were generously endowed with estates by the Ghaznī Chiefs and also by Bābar, whose original army grew like a snowball as he moved it across the hills to the plains of promise. The tribes most numerous represented in this distribution were the Yūsufzāi, the Orakzai, Lōdī, Kākar and Karlānī. The tribal organisation gets weaker, as is only to be expected, as the distance from the frontier increases, and is scarcely to be found in its original form east of the Jamnā, where the Rohilla community, well known in history, is probably the best-knit, as it is the most prosperous, of the larger settlements of this race. In addition to the Pathān colonies and the converts arrogating to themselves that title, there is a floating population of from 100,000 to 150,000 Powindah, or itinerant traders of Pathān nationality. They belong chiefly to the Ghilzai tribes, though, owing to their nomad life, their connection with their kinsfolk is of the loosest. Large caravans assemble in the autumn to the east of Ghazni, and march in armed bodies through the dangerous country of the Wazirī and Kākar, to the Indus at Dera Ghazī Khan. Here they deposit their arms, leave their families encamped on the grazing grounds along the river, under the guardianship of a detachment of their fighting men, and wander off across upper India, often as far as Bihar, selling the goods and horses they have brought from Kandahār and Central Asia. When these have been disposed of, the Powindah act as pedlars on behalf of merchants in the larger towns. In the spring they re-assemble on the Indus, and wend their way back to Kandahār, dispersing from that centre by their various routes through Herat and Kābul to the north. Some few of the band engage in contract labour for the season. There are gangs, also, but not belonging to the regular Powindah, which remain longer in India, taking up work as it suits them, and usually affecting tracts well known for their prosperity and the unwarlike character of their population. In these lush pastures their superior size and strength, added to their loud

and gruff voices provide them with a living until they are moved on by the police towards a region where those qualifications are sufficiently familiar to fail to extort respect or alimony.

§ 107. **Balūc.** A line drawn from Dēra Ghāzi Khān through the Sulaiman range due west to Quettah demarcates approximately the Paṭhān on the north, from the Balūc on the south; but the latter have advanced considerably to the north of this limit in the Indus valley, and have also established large colonies in upper and middle Sindh. The Balūc statement of their origin is to the effect that they belong to Aleppo, and were expelled from Syria on sectarian grounds. They found their way through Baghdād and Kirmān to Makrān, where they lived for many generations before they occupied Khalāt and the south Sulaimān hills, which they took from the Paṭhān. A large section of their community was expelled from Balūcistān in a tribal dispute, and settled in Sindh. Members of these exiled clans joined with their kinsfolk of the plains in rendering assistance to the Emperor Humāyūn, when regaining India after his expulsion. They were rewarded with grants of land along the Indus, and have now spread well up the Cināb and Satlaj valleys. The result of this movement is that there are now more Balūc in Sindh and the Panjāb than were enumerated in their native country, where they are outnumbered by the Brāhūi. There are many Balūc tribes, but the predominant section is the Rind, from which most of the rest claim to be descended. The Laṣārī stands next in rank, but according to the tradition of the others, it was treated as the Kṣatriya were treated by Paras'urāma, and swept off the face of the country, thereafter being known only in middle Sindh, and there in a disjointed condition which has never been repaired. The Rind, too, colonised a part of upper Sindh, but are not found to any great extent elsewhere in British territory, outside British Balūcistān. The tribes best represented on the frontier and along the rivers are the Marri, with their hereditary foe the Bughtī, of the hills, and the Mazārī, Gurchānī, Leghārī, Lund, Bozdār, and of course, the Rind itself. Except in upper Sindh and the Dēra Ghāzi Khān district, the Balūc of British domicile do not keep up in partibus the characteristic tribal organisation so strictly observed in their own country. As they get higher up the rivers, they tend to amalgamate with the Jāt and Paṭhān. In the south-west Panjāb, indeed, every camel driver is called Balūc, owing to the marked addiction of the race to that occupation. In spite of this dilution of the original stock, the independence of the artificial restrictions of caste and the strongly-marked character of the Balūc and Paṭhān alike, different as these peoples are in other respects, have had very considerable effect upon the customs and general tone of the population in the midst of which these races have settled. This influence, according to competent observers, has been greater than that of the political supremacy of Islam in producing that laxity in religious matters which is generally attributed to the latter cause alone. It should not be forgotten, however, that the people of the west enjoyed, many centuries before a single Muslim was in existence, a unique reputation in the eyes of the Singers on the Sarasvatī, for religious indifference and "neglect of rites", which justified their inclusion amongst the Mleccha.

§ 108. **Brāhūi.** Last among the more definite communities acknowledging Islām is that of the Brāhūi, inhabiting Balūcistān and Upper Sindh, of whom only 48,000 were enumerated within the scope of this survey. For centuries the Brāhūi have been Muslim, and have inter-

married with Jāt and Balūc, and have even admitted adult recruits from these races into their tribes. Nevertheless, they have preserved their distinct physical features, being shorter and more swarthy than their neighbours; and, though, as remarked in the Introduction, their language has been overlaid with Sindhī and Balūci, they keep, for domestic use at all events, a tongue undoubtedly Dravidian in its main characteristics. In common with their neighbours, from whom they have perhaps borrowed it, they hold the tradition of Arab descent, Aleppo being their chosen seat of origin. On the other hand, they are equally certain that they have never lived in any other country but that which they now occupy. Setting on one side the conjecture that the Brāhūi are of Scythian race, for which there is little corroborative evidence, it is known that there was of yore a considerable Indian population settled along the hill-country west of Sindh, with its own customs and temples. It is possible, therefore, that the Brāhūi may denote the high-water mark of the Dravidian extension northwards, left derelict and isolated under the protection of the desert, after the Indus had changed its course and the tide of Āryan occupation had absorbed the bulk of the darker race. In the present day the Brāhūi are specially addicted to the rearing and tending of camels. They enjoy a good social position in Balūcistān, but are rarely found far from their wide pastures, except for purposes connected with their occupation.

With these tribes ends the list of the communities which have been selected as representative of the different elements of which the vast and complicated society of India is compounded. That the review of their leading characteristics is imperfect has been fully admitted throughout, and the certainty of error will not be denied by any one who has attacked even the outworks of a task of this nature. It needs but little experience of Indian life to bring home to the student of ethnography the vanity of thinking that the whole field can be adequately surveyed in the light of such knowledge as can possibly be acquired by a single individual. Here, indeed, if anywhere, a little knowledge is dangerous, because, as has been abundantly shown in the course of this review, Indian society differs from tract to tract to an extent which inevitably involves the lurking danger of being led astray by analogy or similarities of nomenclature, rites or customs, into the assumption that what is true of a community in one part is equally applicable to a body of perhaps the same name elsewhere. Information upon such distinctions must be obtained, as a rule, at second-hand, and fortunately, the supply thereof has greatly increased of late years both in amount and quality and has received valuable additions even since the body of this review was written. It is on such material that reliance has been mainly placed in the attempt here made, perhaps rashly, to give a word-picture of society as it exists to-day in India, not merely geographically, but as a whole.

## APPENDIX A.

## Summary of Caste-Groups.

## A. (§ 24—31) Special Groups.

1. (§ 24—26) Brāhman	14,893,300
2. (§ 27) Rājput . .	10,040,800
3. (§ 28—29) Traders.	
Banyā unspec <sup>d</sup> .	3,163,300
Agarvāl . . . .	557,600
Agrahāri . . . .	92,000
S'rimāli . . . .	227,400
Porvāl . . . .	75,000
Osvāl . . . .	382,700
Hūmbaḍ . . . .	60,700
Khatri . . . .	585,000
Arōrā . . . .	732,100
Bhāṭiā . . . .	60,600
Lōhānā . . . .	572,800
Subarnabaṇik . .	154,800
Baliḷa . . . .	534,700
Kōmaṭi . . . .	656,300
Banjiga . . . .	173,400
Vaḍuga . . . .	95,900
Ceṭṭi . . . .	320,000
Khōjah . . . .	155,300
Mēmān . . . .	112,100
Bōhrā . . . .	177,300
Labbaī . . . .	426,300
Māppila . . . .	925,200
Jōnakkan . . . .	100,300
4. (§ 30) Writers.	
Khatri . . . .	138,000
Kāyasth . . . .	2,149,300
Prabhu . . . .	28,800
Brahmakṣatriya . .	4,200
Karan-Mahant . . .	195,000
Kaṇakkan . . . .	63,000
Kaṇnam . . . .	42,800
Vidhūr . . . .	39,200
Vaidya . . . .	90,000
5. (§ 31) Religious Devotees.	
Gōsai . . . .	152,600
Bairāgi . . . .	765,200

Atit . . . .	151,800
Sādhu . . . .	67,800
Jōgi . . . .	212,500
Faqir . . . .	1,212,600
Āṇḍi . . . .	101,400
Dāsari . . . .	48,300
Pānisavan . . . .	13,700

## B. (§ 32—53) The Village Community.

## 6. (a) (§ 33—34) Landholders, Military etc.

Jāt . . . .	7,086,100
Gūjar . . . .	2,103,100
Avān . . . .	686,000
Khōkhar . . . .	117,500
Gakkhar . . . .	30,000
Kāthi . . . .	27,400
Sūmrō . . . .	124,100
Sammō . . . .	793,800
Tāgā . . . .	165,300
Bābhan-Bhūinhār . .	1,353,300
Rājbaṇsi-Kōc . . .	2,408,700
Āhōm . . . .	178,000
Khaṇḍāit . . . .	720,300
Marāṭhā . . . .	5,029,300
Rāzu . . . .	113,500
Velama . . . .	519,900
Kaḷḷan . . . .	494,600
Maravan . . . .	350,000
Agamuḍaiyan . . .	318,600
Nāyar . . . .	1,046,700
Koḍagu . . . .	36,200

## (b) (§ 35—36) Peasants.

Kambō . . . .	183,600
Mēo . . . .	395,000
Thākar . . . .	102,200
Rāthi . . . .	39,300
Rāut . . . .	81,900
Ghirath . . . .	170,100
Kanait . . . .	389,900



Kurmī . . . . .	3,873,600
Kōeri . . . . .	1,784,000
Lōdhā . . . . .	1,663,400
Kisān . . . . .	442,700
Kāvar . . . . .	186,100
Kōltā . . . . .	127,400
Kirār . . . . .	166,700
Kalitā . . . . .	203,400
Halvai-Dās . . . . .	29,200
Kaibartta . . . . .	2,665,100
Sadgōp . . . . .	579,400
Cāsā . . . . .	870,500
Gāngautā . . . . .	82,600
Pōd . . . . .	464,900
Nāmasūdra . . . . .	2,031,700
Kunbī . . . . .	2,700,000
Kaṇbī . . . . .	1,350,600
Kōli . . . . .	2,477,300
Vakkaliga . . . . .	1,392,400
Liṅgāyat unsp <sup>d</sup> . . . . .	2,612,300
Pañcamasāle . . . . .	431,100
Caturtha . . . . .	111,600
Baṇṭa . . . . .	120,600
Gauḍa . . . . .	162,500
Kāppu-Reḍḍi . . . . .	3,110,200
Kamma . . . . .	974,400
Telaga . . . . .	644,200
Kāliṅgi . . . . .	126,900
Toṭṭiyan . . . . .	151,000
Vellālan . . . . .	2,464,900
Nattamān . . . . .	151,300

## (c) (§ 37) Gardeners etc.

Barāi . . . . .	545,900
Sēnaikkūḍaiyān . . . . .	39,300
Koḍikkāl . . . . .	60,000
Arāin . . . . .	1,026,500
Māliār . . . . .	159,900
Māli . . . . .	1,948,600
Kāchi . . . . .	1,260,200
Murāo . . . . .	662,900
Saiṇī . . . . .	200,600
Tigaḷa . . . . .	64,800

## 7. (§ 38) Cattle-breeders.

Ahir . . . . .	9,841,900
Gōālā-Golla . . . . .	1,357,400
Gaura . . . . .	431,600
Rabārī . . . . .	253,900

Ghōsi . . . . .	58,500
Kannaḍiyan . . . . .	22,500

## 8. (§ 39) Artisans.

## (a) Combined castes (Pāṇckalsi)

Kammālan . . . . .	644,600
Kaṁsāla . . . . .	295,500
Pañcāḷa . . . . .	323,800

## (b) Sōnār . . . . . 1,271,800

Niyāriyā . . . . .	18,700
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## (c) Tarkhān . . . . . 754,500

Barhāi . . . . .	1,133,100
Sutār . . . . .	581,100
Khātī . . . . .	219,400

## (d) Lōhār . . . . . 1,605,100

Kāmār . . . . .	757,200
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## (e) Rāj . . . . . 26,000

Thāvi . . . . .	2,300
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Gauṇḍi . . . . .	8,700
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Kaḍiō . . . . .	14,400
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## (f) Kasērā . . . . . 138,600

Thaṭhērā . . . . .	57,800
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Tāmbaṭ . . . . .	10,400
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## 9. (§ 40) Weavers.

Paṭnūli . . . . .	90,500
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Paṭve . . . . .	72,000
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Khatri . . . . .	56,200
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Tānti . . . . .	772,300
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Tantvā . . . . .	197,900
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Perike . . . . .	63,000
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Jaṇappan . . . . .	83,000
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Kapāli . . . . .	144,700
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Dhōr . . . . .	24,400
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Pānkā . . . . .	726,700
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Gāndā . . . . .	277,800
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Dombā . . . . .	76,400
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Kōri . . . . .	1,204,700
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Julāhā . . . . .	2,907,900
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Balāhī . . . . .	585,100
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Kaikkōlan . . . . .	354,700
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Sāle . . . . .	639,300
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Togaṭa . . . . .	64,500
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Dēvāṅga . . . . .	288,900
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Neyige unsp <sup>d</sup> . . . . .	97,000
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Jūgi . . . . .	536,600
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Koṣṭi . . . . .	277,400
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10.	(§ 41) Oil-pressers.	Lūniyā-Nūniyā . . . . .	807,400
	Tēli-Ghāncī . . . . .	Khārōl . . . . .	12,700
	Kalu . . . . .	Rēhgār . . . . .	14,400
	Vāniyan . . . . .	Khārvi . . . . .	50,000
	Gāniga . . . . .	Āgrīā . . . . .	270,400
11.	(§ 42) Potters.	Uppāra . . . . .	260,000
	Kumhār . . . . .	Uppiliyan . . . . .	43,700
	Kuśavan . . . . .	Pātharvat . . . . .	23,400
		Baiti-Cūnāri . . . . .	18,100
12.	(§ 43) Barbers.	16. (§ 47) Toddy-drawers.	
	Nāi-Nhāvi . . . . .	Pāsī . . . . .	1,408,400
	Hajām . . . . .	Bhaṇḍāri . . . . .	176,000
	Ambaṭṭan . . . . .	Paik . . . . .	80,900
	Mārayān . . . . .	Billava . . . . .	145,600
	Maṅgala . . . . .	Tiyan . . . . .	580,000
	Bhaṇḍāri . . . . .	Taṇḍān . . . . .	19,000
13.	(§ 44) Washermen.	Ilavan . . . . .	791,100
	Dhōbi-Parit . . . . .	S'āṇān . . . . .	759,300
	Vaṇṇān . . . . .	Idiga . . . . .	337,400
	Veluttēḍan . . . . .	Gauṇḍla . . . . .	361,500
	Agasa . . . . .	Segidi . . . . .	53,700
	Cākala . . . . .	Yāta . . . . .	52,700
14.	(§ 45) Fishers, Boatmen and Porters.	17. (§ 48—49) Field-labourers.	
	Mallāh unsp <sup>d</sup> . . . . .	Dhānuk . . . . .	804,200
	Pāṭnī. . . . .	Arakh . . . . .	76,400
	Tiyar . . . . .	Dhūṇḍiā-Dhōḍiā . . . . .	110,200
	Mālō . . . . .	Dūblā-Talāviā . . . . .	141,800
	Kēvat . . . . .	Bāgdī . . . . .	1,042,500
	Kahār . . . . .	Baurī . . . . .	705,600
	Dhīmar . . . . .	Rajvār . . . . .	166,400
	Jhīnvar . . . . .	Musāhār . . . . .	664,700
	Māchī . . . . .	Bhar . . . . .	458,500
	Mōhānō . . . . .	Dhākar . . . . .	125,700
	Bhōi . . . . .	Paḷli . . . . .	2,572,300
	Bōya . . . . .	Paḷlan . . . . .	836,500
	Palle (about) . . . . .	Pulayan-Cērumān . . . . .	524,500
	Besta . . . . .	Paraiyan . . . . .	2,258,600
	Kabbēra-Ambiga . . . . .	Māla . . . . .	1,863,900
	Mogēr . . . . .	Holeya . . . . .	866,200
	Mukkuvan . . . . .	Mahār . . . . .	2,561,600
	S'embaḷavan . . . . .	Dhed . . . . .	378,800
15.	(§ 46) Stone, Salt and Lime-workers.	18. (§ 50) Leather-workers.	
	Bind . . . . .	Camār . . . . .	11,176,700
	Cain . . . . .	Megh . . . . .	140,500
	Goṇṇhī . . . . .	Dāgi . . . . .	154,700

- Mādiga . . . . .	1,281,200
Māṅg . . . . .	579,900
- S'akkiliyan. . . . .	487,500
Mōci . . . . .	1,007,800
Bāmbhī (about) . . . . .	200,000

## 19. (§ 51) Watchmen.

Barvālā . . . . .	101,700
Ghātṽāl . . . . .	88,800
Kandrā . . . . .	151,500
- Ambalakkāran . . . . .	162,500
- Mutrāca . . . . .	329,100
- Khangār . . . . .	113,700
- Mīnā . . . . .	581,900
- Dōsādh . . . . .	1,258,200
- Māl . . . . .	145,700
- Bēraḍi-Bēḍar . . . . .	646,000
- Rāmōśi . . . . .	60,800

## 20. (§ 52—53) Scavengers.

Bhangī-Mihtar . . . . .	839,200
Cūhrā . . . . .	1,329,400
Mazbī (about) . . . . .	38,000
- Bhūinmāli . . . . .	131,600
Hārī and Kaōrā . . . . .	306,500
- Haḍḍi . . . . .	28,100
- Dōm . . . . .	855,600
- Ghāsiyā . . . . .	119,300

C. (§ 54—58) Professions  
Subsidiary.

## 21. (§ 54) Bards and Genealogists.

Bhāt . . . . .	377,700
Bhātrāzu . . . . .	28,000
Rāj-Bhāt . . . . .	11,200
Cāraṇ . . . . .	74,000
Mirāsī . . . . .	291,600

## 22. (§ 55) Astrologers etc.

Jōśi . . . . .	83,700
Ḍākaut . . . . .	15,600
Gaṇak . . . . .	20,500
- Kaṇis'an . . . . .	15,700
Pāṇan . . . . .	33,300
- Vēlan . . . . .	27,700
Garpagārī . . . . .	8,800

## 23. (§ 56—57) Temple-services.

## (a) Priests.

[ Pujārī . . . . .	880
[ Bhōjki . . . . .	1,070
[ Bhōjak . . . . .	1,200
[ Sēvak . . . . .	6,800
[ Paṇḍāram . . . . .	68,600
[ Valluvan . . . . .	85,300
[ Tambala . . . . .	3,800
[ Jaṅgam . . . . .	405,000
[ Gāruḍā . . . . .	20,600
[ Bharāi . . . . .	66,000
[ Ulama . . . . .	36,200

## (b) Servants.

Phulārī-Hūgār . . . . .	15,700
Guraō . . . . .	94,000
Bārī . . . . .	89,600
[ Sātāni . . . . .	77,400
[ Dēvādiga . . . . .	23,800

## 24. (§ 58) Dancers and Singers.

Bēsiyā, Kancan etc. . . . .	57,700
Kalāvānt . . . . .	20,000
[ Dāsī-Dēvali . . . . .	25,300
[ Bōgam . . . . .	32,900

## D. (§ 59—68) Urban Castes.

## 25. (§ 60) Grocers etc.

Attārī . . . . .	5,900
Gandhabānik . . . . .	141,100
[ Kāsarvāni . . . . .	79,700
[ Kāsaundhan . . . . .	99,700
Gāndhī . . . . .	3,700
Kūnjrā . . . . .	285,400
Tāmbōli . . . . .	209,500

## 26. (§ 61) Grain-parchers and Confectioners.

Bharbhūnjā . . . . .	359,500
Bhaṭhiārā . . . . .	58,200
Kāndū . . . . .	667,900
Halvāi . . . . .	260,000
Mayarā . . . . .	149,200
Gōḍiyā-Gūriā . . . . .	150,400

## 27. (§ 62) Butchers.

Qasāb . . . . .	369,500
Khūṭik . . . . .	332,300

## 28. (§ 63) Pedlars and Glass-workers.

Bisāti . . . . .	3,600
Rāmāiyā . . . . .	5,300
Mañihār . . . . .	102,300
Cūṛihār . . . . .	55,500
Kāncār . . . . .	19,100
Lakherā . . . . .	60,100
Gāzula . . . . .	102,000
Pātrā . . . . .	61,400
S'ankhāri . . . . .	14,800

## 29. (§ 64—67) Artisans.

## (a) Tailors.

Darjī . . . . .	831,100
S'impī . . . . .	36,800

## (b) Dyers etc.

Chipī . . . . .	269,400
Bhausār . . . . .	38,200
Rangrēj . . . . .	137,000
Nilāri . . . . .	48,300
Gaḷiārā . . . . .	1,100

## (c) Cotton-scutchers.

Pinjāri . . . . .	50,800
Bēhnā . . . . .	362,500
Dhuniyā . . . . .	272,800
Dūdēkula . . . . .	74,500

## (d) Distillers and Liquor-sellers.

Suñri-S'āhā . . . . .	724,800
Kalāl-Kalvār . . . . .	1,000,200

## 30. (§ 68) Domestic Servants.

Bihistī . . . . .	107,500
Gōlā . . . . .	39,700
Kūtā . . . . .	6,400
Cākar . . . . .	163,600
Khavās . . . . .	30,600
S'udra . . . . .	285,000
Ṣāgirdpēṣā . . . . .	47,100
Parivāram . . . . .	18,900

## E. (§ 69—79) Nomads.

## 31. (§ 69) Carriers.

Banjārā . . . . .	496,400
Labāna . . . . .	349,500

Thōri . . . . .	41,800
Peñḍhāri . . . . .	10,100

## 32. (§ 70) Shepherds and Wool-workers.

Gaḍḍi . . . . .	103,800
Gaḍariyā . . . . .	1,272,400
Dhangar-Hātka . . . . .	1,015,800
Kuṛubar . . . . .	1,068,000
Idaiyan . . . . .	702,700
Bharvād . . . . .	102,900

## 33. (§ 71) Earthworkers.

Ōḷ-Vaḷḍar . . . . .	903,100
Bēldār . . . . .	214,700
Kōrā-Khairā . . . . .	166,500

## 34. (§ 72) Knife-grinders etc.

S'ikligar . . . . .	21,000
Ghisāḍi . . . . .	8,400
Khūmrā . . . . .	1,100
Ṭākāri . . . . .	6,500

## 35. (§ 73) Bamboo-workers.

Tūri . . . . .	68,000
Basōr-Baṣphōrā . . . . .	96,000
Burūd-Mēdar . . . . .	87,600
Dharkār . . . . .	43,500

## 36. (§ 74) Mat and Basket-makers.

Kanjar . . . . .	34,000
Kuṛavan-Koraca . . . . .	234,800
Yerukala . . . . .	65,500
Kaikāḍi . . . . .	14,200

## 37. (§ 75) Mimes etc.

Bahurūpiyā . . . . .	3,900
Bhāṇḍ . . . . .	10,600
Bhavaīō . . . . .	6,000
Gōndhaḷi . . . . .	27,500

## 38. (§ 76) Drummers etc.

Dafāli . . . . .	50,200
Nagarci . . . . .	20,600
Dhōli . . . . .	43,700
Bajāniā . . . . .	14,400
Turāhā . . . . .	77,300

## 39. (§ 77) Jugglers, Acrobats, Snake-charmers etc.

Naṭ . . . . .	162,300
Bāzigar . . . . .	27,000



	Dombār-Kōlhāṭī . . . . .	39,400
	Gōpāl . . . . .	7,100
40.	(§ 78) Thieves etc.	
	Bāgariyā . . . . .	30,900
	Bēḍiyā . . . . .	57,500
	Saṁsiyā . . . . .	34,700
	Habūrā . . . . .	4,300
	Bhāmṭiyā-Uclī . . . . .	6,100

41.	(§ 79) Hunters and Fowlers.	
	Bāvāriyā-Mōghiyā . . . . .	30,300
	Ahēriyā . . . . .	35,400
	Bahēliyā . . . . .	53,600
	Mahtam . . . . .	82,900
	Sahariyā . . . . .	136,400
	Vāghri . . . . .	114,000
	Pārdhi . . . . .	32,000
	Vēḍan . . . . .	25,500
	Valaiyan . . . . .	383,000
	Vettuvan . . . . .	74,900
	Kuriccan . . . . .	9,600

#### F. (§ 80—102) Hill Tribes.

42.(a)	(§ 81—86) Central Belt.	
	Kōl . . . . .	299,000
	Hō . . . . .	385,100
	Muṇḍā . . . . .	466,700
	Bhūmij . . . . .	370,200
	Bhūinyā . . . . .	789,100
	Kharvār . . . . .	139,600
	Baigā . . . . .	33,900
	Cēru . . . . .	30,200
	Khariā . . . . .	120,700
	Santāl . . . . .	1,907,900
	Māhili . . . . .	66,800
	Birjiā . . . . .	5,700
	Juāng . . . . .	11,200
	Orāon . . . . .	614,500
	Mālē . . . . .	48,300
	Mal-Pahāriā . . . . .	35,000
	Gōṇḍ . . . . .	2,286,900
	Majhvār . . . . .	52,400
	Bottadā-Bhatrā . . . . .	50,100
	Halabā . . . . .	90,100
	Pathārī . . . . .	2,900
	Pradhān . . . . .	22,900
	Kōyī . . . . .	115,200

	Kand . . . . .	612,500
	Kondu-Dora . . . . .	88,700
	Porojā . . . . .	91,900
	Gadabā . . . . .	41,300
	Jātapu . . . . .	75,700
	Savara . . . . .	367,400

#### (b) (§ 87) Western Belt.

	Kōrkū-Kōrva . . . . .	181,800
	Bhil . . . . .	1,198,800
	Bhilālā . . . . .	144,400
	Dhānkā . . . . .	66,100
	Tadvī . . . . .	10,500
	Nihāl . . . . .	6,900
	Gāmtā . . . . .	49,300
	Patēliā . . . . .	91,000
	Nāikaḍā . . . . .	90,200
	Nāyak . . . . .	25,100
	Chōdrā . . . . .	58,200

#### (c) (§ 88) Sahyādri.

	Kāṭkari . . . . .	93,000
	Vārli . . . . .	152,300
	Ghāt-Thākūr . . . . .	122,300

#### (d) (§ 89—90) Nilgiri etc.

	Kuruman . . . . .	10,600
	Īrula . . . . .	86,100
	Toda . . . . .	800
	Kōta . . . . .	1,300
	Kanikkan . . . . .	4,100
	Malaiyan . . . . .	11,200
	Yānādi . . . . .	103,900
	Cencu . . . . .	8,300

#### 43. (§ 91—100) Assam Tribes.

(a)	Bōdo-Kacāri . . . . .	242,900
	Gāro . . . . .	162,200
	Lālūng . . . . .	35,500
	Rābhā . . . . .	67,300
	Mōc . . . . .	99,500
	Hājong . . . . .	8,800
	Tipparah-Mrūng . . . . .	111,300
	Cūtiyā . . . . .	85,800
(b)	Miri . . . . .	46,700
	Ābor . . . . .	320
	Ḍaphla . . . . .	950
	Āka . . . . .	28

(c) Khasi . . . . .	111,600	44. (§ 101—102) Himalayan (Ne-	
Sainteng . . . . .	47,900	pāli) Tribes.	
(d) Mikir . . . . .	87,300	- Khambu . . . . .	46,500
(e) Nāgā unsp <sup>d</sup> . . . . .	78,900	Yākha . . . . .	2,400
Angāmi-Tengima . . . . .	27,500	- Limbu . . . . .	24,600
Ao . . . . .	26,800	Lepca . . . . .	18,000
Sema-Sima . . . . .	4,700	Murmi . . . . .	33,900
Lhōta . . . . .	19,300	Nevār . . . . .	11,500
Rengma . . . . .	5,600	[ Khas . . . . .	15,900
(f) Kuki unsp <sup>d</sup> . . . . .	67,200	Gürüng . . . . .	16,600
Meithēi . . . . .	69,400	Mangar . . . . .	23,900
Lusēi . . . . .	63,600	Sūnuvār . . . . .	6,900
(g) Sān unsp <sup>d</sup> . . . . .	1,850	[ Gorkha unsp <sup>d</sup> . . . . .	18,400
Khāmti . . . . .	2,000	G. (§ 103—108) Muslim Race Titles.	
Phakiāl . . . . .	220	45. (a) [ Arab unsp <sup>d</sup> . . . . .	96,700
Nōrā . . . . .	140	[ Sēkh . . . . .	23,836,800
Tūrung . . . . .	400	[ Saiyad . . . . .	1,508,400
Aitōn . . . . .	80	(c) [ Turk . . . . .	5,700
[Āhōm* . . . . .	178,000]	[ Mughal . . . . .	388,900
(h) Singphō . . . . .	800	(d) [ Paṭhān . . . . .	3,204,500
Doānia . . . . .	1,000	[ Balūc . . . . .	1,034,300
		[ Brāhūi . . . . .	48,200

\* Included amongst Landed-Military in 6 (a).

Total of selected Castes and Tribes 265,701,200.

## APPENDIX B.

## Caste Index.

Caste	Group	Locality
Ābor	43 (b). Hill tribe	Assam Himālaya
Agamuḍaiyan	6 (a). Landed-dominant	Tamil
Agarvāl	3. Traders	North and West
Agasa	13. Washermen	Karnatic
Agrahārī	3. Traders	Agra
Āgriā	15. Saltworkers	Agra and West Coast
Ahēriyā	41. Hunters and fowlers	Panjāb and Agra
Ahīr	7. Cattle-breeders	Upper and Central India
Āhōm	6 (a). Landed-dominant	Assam
Aitōn	43 (g). Hill tribe	E. Assam
Āka	43 (b). Hill tribe	Assam Himālaya
Ambalakkāran	19. Watchmen	Tamil
Ambaṭṭan	12. Barbers	Tamil
Ambiga = Kabbēra		
Āṇḍi	5. Religious mendicants	Tamil
Angāmī-Tengima	43 (c). Hill tribe	E. Assam
Āo	43 (e). Hill tribe	E. Assam
Arab	45 (a). Muslim race	Panjāb and West
Arāin	6 (c). Market-gardeners	Panjāb
Arakh	17. Field-labourers	Agra etc.
Arōṛā	3. Traders	W. Panjāb
Atit	5. Devotees	Bengal and North
Attārī	25. Perfume-makers	North and Centre
Avān	6 (a). Landed-dominant	Panjāb
Bābhan-Bhūinhār	6 (a). Landed-dominant	Ganges Valley, Bihār
Bāgariyā	40. Thieves	Cent. India
Bāgdi	17 (a). Field-labourers	Bengal
Bahēliyā	41. Fowlers	Panjāb
Bahurūpiyā	37. Mimes	Panjāb and Upper India
Baigā	42 (a). Hill tribe	Cent. Prov.
Bairāgi	5. Devotees	Univers. N. and Centre
Baiti	15. Lime-burners	Bengal
Bajāniā	38. Drummers etc.	West
Balāhi	9. Weavers	Rājputāna etc.
Baliya	3. Traders	Telingāna
Balūc	45 (c). Muslim race	Panjāb and Sindh
Bāmbhi	18. Shoemakers	Rājputāna
Banjārā	31. Carriers	North and Centre

Caste	Group	Locality
Banjiga	3. Traders	Karnatic
Baṅsphōrā-Basōr	35. Bamboo-workers	Upper and West. India
Baṅṭa	6(b). Peasants	Kanara
Banyā unsp <sup>d</sup> .	3. Traders	Univ. except in South
Barāi	6(c). Betel-vine-growers	Univ. except in South
Barhai	8(c). Carpenters	Upper India
Bāri	23(b). Leaf-plate-makers	Upper India
Barvālā	19. Watchmen	Panjāb
Basōr = Baṅsphōrā		
Bauri	6(c). Field-labourers	Bengal
Bāvariyā	41. Fowlers etc.	Panjāb and Agra
Bāzigar	39. Acrobats etc.	Panjāb
Bēḍar = Bēraḍ		
Bēḍiyā	40. Disreputable nomads	Upper India
Behnā	29(a). Cotton-scutchers	Upper India
Bēldār	33. Earth-workers	North and Centre
Bēraḍ-Bēḍar	19. Watchmen	Karnatic
Bēsiyā-Kancan	24. Dancers and singers	Upper India
Besta	14. Fishermen	Telingāna
Bhāṇḍ	37. Mimes	Panjāb etc.
Bhaṇḍārī	12. Barbers	Orissa
Bhaṇḍārī	16. Toddy-drawers	West Coast
Bhaṅgī-Mihtar	20. Scavengers	All but in South
Bhar	17(a). Field-labourers	Bēhār etc.
Bharāi	23(a). Shrine priests	Panjāb
Bharbhūnjā	26. Grain-parchers	Upper India
Bharvāḍ	32. Shepherds	West
Bhāt	21. Bards and genealogists	Upper and West. India
Bhathiārā	26. Public cooks	W. Panjāb
Bhāṭiā	3. Traders	West
Bhatrā = Bottadā		
Bhāṭrāzu	21. Bards and genealogists	Telingāna
Bhausār	29(b). Calenderers	West
Bhavaio	37. Actors	West
Bhil	42(b). Hill tribe	West Belt
Bhilālā	42(b). Hill tribe	West Belt
Bhōi	14. Fishers and porters	Dekkan and West
Bhōjak	23. Priests to Jains	Rājputāna
Bhōjki	23. Priests of hillmen	Panjāb
Bhūinhār = Bābhan		
Bhūinmāli	20. Scavengers	Bengal and Assam
Bhūnyā	42(a). Hill tribe	Bengal and Cent. Belt
Bhumij	42(a). Hill tribe	Bengal
Bihistī	30. Water bearers	North and Centre
Billava	16. Toddy-drawers	Kanara



Caste	Group	Locality
Bind	15. Stone and lime-workers	Bihār and Oudh
Birjiā	42 (a). Hill tribe	Bengal
Bisāti	28. Pedlars	Panjab etc.
Bōdo – Kacārī		
Bōgam	24. Dancers	Telingāna
Bōhrā-Vōhōrā	3. Traders and cultivators	West
Bottadā-Bhatrā	42 (a). Hill tribe	South Cent. Belt
Bōya	14. Fishers etc.	Telingāna
Brahmakṣatriya	4. Writers	Gujarāt
Brāhūi	45. Muslim race	Sindh Frontier etc.
Burūḍ-Mēdar	35. Bamboo-workers	Dekkan and Karnatic
Cain	15. Stone-workers	Oudh and Bihār
Cākala	13. Washermen	Telingāna
Cākar	30. Domestic servants	Rājputāna
Camār-Khālpō	18. Leather-workers	Univ. except in South
Cāraṇ	21. Genealogists	West
Cāsā	6 (b). Peasants	Orissa
Caturtha	6 (b). Cultivators and traders	Karnatic
Cencu	42 (d). Hill tribe	Eastern Ghāts
Cēru	42 (a). Hill tribe	Bengal
Cēruman = Pulayan		
Cetṭi	3. Traders	Tamil
Chipī	29 (b). Calenderers and dyers	Upper India
Chōdrā	42 (b). Hill tribe	West
Cūhrā	20. Scavengers	Panjab
Cūnārī-Baitī	15. Lime-burners	Upper India and Bengal
Cūrihār	28. Pedlars and glass-workers	North and Centre
Cūtiyā	43 (a). Hill tribe	Assam
Dafālī	38. Mendicant drummers	Agra and Bihār
Dāgi	18. Leather-workers	Panjab Hills
Dākaut	22. Astrologers	Agra etc.
Ḍaphlā	43 (b). Hill tribe	Assam Himālaya
Darjī	29 (a). Tailors	Universal
Dāsari	5. Devotees	Telingāna
Dāsi-Dēvali	24. Dancers	Telingāna and Karnatic
Dēvādiga	23 (b). Temple servants	Telingāna and Karnatic
Dēvali = Dāsi		
Dēvānga	9. Weavers	Karnatic
Dhākar	17. Field-labourers	Rājputāna etc.
Dhangar-Hātkar	32. Shepherds	Dekkan
Dhānkā	42 (b). Hill tribe	West Belt
Dhānuk	17. Field-labourers	Agra and Rājputāna
Dharkār	35. Bamboo-workers	Agra and Rājputāna

Caste	Group	Lokality
Dhed	17. Village menials	West
Dhimar	14. Fishers etc.	Upper and Cent. India
Dhōbi-Parīṭ	13. Washermen	Univ. except in South
Dhōḍiā = Dhūṇḍiā		
Dholi	38. Drummers	West
Dhōr	9. Hemp-weavers etc.	Dekkan
Dhuldhōyā = Niyā-riya		
Dhūṇḍiā-Dhōḍiā	17. Field-labourers	West
Dhuniyā	29(c). Cotton-scutchers	North
Doānia	43(h). Bastard Singphō	Assam
Ḍōm-Ḍūmṇā	20. Scavengers	Upper India
Dombār-Kōlhāṭi	39. Acrobats etc.	Dekkan
Dombā	9. Weavers	N. E. Madras
Dōsādh	19. Watchmen	Bihār
Dūblā-Talāviā	17. Field-labourers	West
Dūdēkula	29(c). Cotton-scutchers	Telingāna
Dūm = Mirāsī		
Ḍūmṇā = Ḍōm		
Faqīr	5. Religious mendicants	Universal
Gadabā	42(a). Hill tribe	N. E. Madras
Gaḍariyā	32. Shepherds	Upper India
Gaḍḍi	32. Shepherds	Panjāb Hills
Gakkhar	6(a). Landed-dominant	Panjāb
Gaḷiārā	29(b). Indigo-dyers	West
Gamaḷla = Gaunḍla		
Gāmtā	42(b). Hill tribe	West
Gaṇak	22. Astrologers	Assam
Gāndā	9. Weavers	East Cent. Prov.
Gandhabānik	25. Grocers	Bengal
Gāndhī	25. Grocers	Dekkan etc.
Gāngautā	6(b). Peasants	Bihār
Gāṇiga	10. Oil-pressers	Karnatic
Gāro	43(a). Hill tribe	Assam
Garpagāri	22. Hail-averters	Cent. Prov.
Gāruḍā	23(i). Low priests	West
Gauḍa	6(b). Peasants	Karnatic
Gauṇḍi	8(e). Masons	Dekkan
Gauṇḍla-Gamaḷla	16. Toddy-drawers	Telingāna
Gaura	7. Cattle-breeders	Bengal
Gāzula	28. Pedlars	Telingāna
Ghāncī = Tēli		
Ghāsiyā	20. Scavengers	Ganges Valley

Caste	Group	Locality
Ghāt-Thākūr	42(c). Hill tribe	Sahyādri
Ghāṭvāl	19. Watchmen	Bengal
Ghirath	6(b). Peasants	Panjab Hills
Ghisāḍi	34. Knife-grinders	Dekkan
Ghōsi	7. Cowherds	Upper India
Gōālā-Golla	7. Cattle-breeders	Upper India
Gōḍiyā-Gūriā	26. Confectioners	Bengal-Orissa
Gōlā	30. Rice-pounders	West and North
Golla = Gōālā		
Gōṇḍ	42(a). Hill tribe	Cent. Prov.
Gōndhaḷi	37. Ballad-singers	Dekkan
Gōṇṛhi	15. Stone-cutters	Bihār and Oudh
Gōpāl	39. Jugglers	Dekkan
Gōrkha unsp <sup>d</sup> .	44. Himālayan tribe	Nēpāl
Gōsāi	5. Devotees	Univ. except in South
Gūjar	6(a). Landed-dominant	Panjab and Agra
Guraō	23(b). Temple-servants	Dekkan
Gūriā = Gōḍiyā		
Gūrūng	44. Himālayan tribe	Nēpāl
Habūrā	40. Thieves	Upper India
Haḷḷi	20. Scavengers	Orissa
Hajām	12. Muslim barbers	Universal
Hājong	43(a). Hill tribe	Assam
Halabā	42(a). Hill tribe	S. E. Cent. Prov.
Halvāi	26. Confectioners	Upper and East. India
Halvai-Dās	6(b). Peasants	Assam
Hāri-Kaōrā	20. Scavengers	Bengal
Hātkar = Dhangar		
Hō	42(a). Hill tribe	Bengal
Holeya	17. Village menials	Karnatic
Hūgār = Phulāri		
Hūmbaḷ	3. Traders	West
Idaiyan	32. Shepherds	Tamil
Idiga	16. Toddy-drawers	Telingāna
Ilavan	16. Toddy-drawers	Malabar
Irula	42(a). Hill tribe	Nilgiri etc.
Janappan	9. Hemp-weavers	Tamil
Jaṅgam	23(a). Liṅgāyat priests	Karnatic [putāna
Jāt	6(a). Landed-dominant	Panjab, Agra and Rāj-
Jātapu	42(a). Hill tribe	N. E. Madras
Jhinvar	14. Fishers and water-bearers	Panjab
Jōgi	5. Devotees	Upper India

Caste	Group	Locality
Jōnakkan	3. Traders	Malabar
Jōsi	22. Astrologers	Univ. except in South
Juāng	42(a). Hill tribe	Orissa Hills
Jugi	9. Weavers	Bengal
Julāhā	9. Weavers	Upper India
Kabbēra-Ambiga	14. Fishers	Telingāna and Kanara
Kacāri-Bōdo	43(a). Hill tribe	Assam
Kāci	6(c). Market-gardeners	Upper and Central
Kaḍio	8(e). Masons	West
Kahār	14. Fishers and porters	Upper India
Kaibartta	6(b). Peasants	Bengal
Kaikāḍi	36. Mat-makers	Dekkan
Kaikkōḷan	9. Weavers	Tamil
Kalāl-Kalvār	29. (d) Distillers	Upper and Cent. India
Kalāvānt	24. Dancers	West
Kaliṅgi	6(b). Peasants	Telingāna
Kalitā	6(b). Peasants	Assam
Kaḷḷan	6(a). Landed-dominant	Tamil
Kalu	10. Oil-pressers	Bengal
Kalvār = Kalāl		
Kāmār	8(a). Blacksmiths	Bengal
Kambō	6(b). Peasants	Panjāb
Kamma	6(b). Peasants	Telingāna
Kammālan	8(a). Artisans	Tamil
Kaṁsāla	8(a). Artisans	Telingāna
Kanait	6(b). Peasants	Panjāb Hills
Kaṇakkan	4. Writers	Tamil
Kaṇbi	6(b). Peasants	West
Kancan = Bēsiyā		
Kāncār	28. Glass-workers	Upper and Cent. India
Kand	42(a). Hill tribe	N. E. Madras
Kandrā	19. Watchmen	Orissa
Kāndū	26. Confectioners	Univ. except in South
Kanikkar	42(a). Hill tribe	Malabar
Kaṇiṣan	22. Astrologers	Malabar
Kanjar	36. Mat-makers	Upper India
Kaṇṇaḍiyan	7. Cattle-breeders	Tamil
Kaōrā = Hāri		
Kāpāli	9. Jute-weavers	Bengal
Kāpu-Redḍi	6(b). Peasants	Telingāna
Karan-Mahant	4. Writers	Orissa
Karṇam	4. Writers	Telingāna
Kāsār-Kasērā	8(f). Brassmiths	Univ. except in South
Kāsarvāni	25. Grocers	Agra and Oudh



Caste	Group	Locality
Kāsaundhan	25. Grocers	Agra and Oudh
Kasērā = Kāsār		
Kāthi	6(a). Landed-dominant	West
Kātkarī-Kāthōḍī	42(c). Hill tribe	Sahyādri
Kāvar	6(b). Peasants	Cent. Prov.
Kāyasth	4. Writers	Upper Ind. and Bengal
Kēvat	14. Fishers etc.	Upper India
Khairā = Kōrā		
Khālpō = Camār		
Khambu	44. Himālayan tribe	Nepal
Khāmtī	43(g). Hill tribe	E. Assam
Khaṇḍāit	6(a). Landed-dominant	Orissa
Khangār	19. Watchmen	Cent. Ind.
Khariā	42(a). Hill tribe	Bengal
Khārōl	15. Salt-workers	Rājputāna
Kharvār	42(a). Hill tribe	Bengal
Khārvī	15. Salt-workers	West
Khas	44. Himālayan tribe	Nēpāl
Khāsī	43(c). Hill tribe	Assam
Khātī	8(c). Carpenters	Upper India
Khātik	27. Butchers	Upper and West. India
Khatri	3. Traders	Panjāb
Khatri	4. Writers	Ganges Valley
Khatri	9. Silk-weavers	West
Khavās	30. Domestic servants	West
Khōjah	3. Traders	West
Khōkar	6(a). Landed-dominant	Panjāb
Khūmrā	34. Grindstone-makers	Upper India
Kirār	6(b). Peasants	Cent. Prov.
Kisān	6(b). Peasants	Agra and Cent. India
Kōc = Rājbañsi		
Koḍagu	6(a). Landed-dominant	Coorg
Koḍikkāl	6(c). Bitel-vine-growers	Tamil
Kōēri	6(b). Peasants	Agra, Oudh and Bihār
Kōl	42(a). Hill tribe	Cent. Prov.
Kōlhāṭī = Dombār		
Kōli	6(b). Peasants	West
Kōltā	6(b). Peasants	Cent. Prov.
Kōmaṭī	3. Traders	Telingāna
Kondu-Dora	42(a). Hill tribe	N. E. Madras
Koraca = Kuṛavan		
Kōrā-Khairā	33. Earth-workers	Bengal
Kōri	9. Weavers	Upper India
Kōrkū-Kōrvā	42(b). Hill tribe	Berar and Cent. Prov.
Kōrvī = Kuṛavan		

Caste	Group	Locality
Koṣṭi	9. Weavers	Dekkan and Cent. Prov.
Kōta	42 (d). Hill tribe	Nilgiri
Kōyi	42 (a). Hill tribe	Cent. Prov. etc.
Kṣatriya = Rājput		
Kukī unsp <sup>d</sup> .	43 (f). Hill tribes	Assam Frontier
Kumhār	11. Potters	Univ. except in South
Kunbi	6 (b). Peasants	Dekkan and West
Kūnjrā	25. Greengrocers	Upper India
Kuravan-Koraca	36. Mat-makers	Telingāna and Dekkan
Kuriccan	41. Fowlers	Malabar
Kurmi	6 (b). Peasants	Upper India
Kurubar-Kurumban	32. Shepherds	South
Kūrukḥ = Orāon		
Kuruman	42 (d). Hill tribe	Nilgiri
Kus'avan	11. Potters	Tamil
Kūṭā	30. Rice-pounders	Upper India
Labāṇā	31. Carriers	Univ. except in East
Labbai	3. Traders	S. E. Coast
Lākhērā	28. Lac-workers	Upper India
Lālūng	43 (a). Hill tribe	Assam
Lepca-Rong	44. Himālayan tribe	Sikkim
Lhota	43 (e). Hill tribe.	E. Assam
Limbu	44. Himālayan tribe	Nēpāl
Liṅgāyat unsp <sup>d</sup> .	6 (b). Peasants	Karnatic
Lodhā	6 (b). Peasants	Upper India
Lōhānā	3. Traders	Sindh
Lōhār	8 (d). Blacksmiths	Univ. except in South
Lūniyā-Nūniyā	15. Salt-workers	Upper India
Lusei	43 (f). Hill tribe	E. Assam
Māchi	14. Fishermen	Panjāb and West
Mādiga	18. Leather-workers	Telingāna
Mahant = Karan		
Mahār	17. Field-labourers	Dekkan
Māhili	42 (a). Hill tribe	Bengal
Mahtam	41. Fowlers etc.	Panjāb
Majhvār	42 (a). Hill tribe	S. Ganges Valley
Māl	19. Watchmen	Bengal
Māla	17. Field-labourers	Telingāna
Malaiyan	42 (d). Hill tribes	Nilgiri and Malabar
Mālē	42 (a). Hill tribe	Bengal
Mali	6 (c). Market-gardeners	Univ. except in South
Māliār	6 (c). Market-gardeners	Panjāb
Mallāh unsp <sup>d</sup> .	14. Fishers and boatmen	Bengal

Caste	Group	Locality
Mālō	14. Fishers and boatmen	Bengal
Mal-Pahārīā	42(a). Hill tribe	Bengal
Māng	18. Leather-workers	Dekkan
Maṅgala	12. Barbers	Telingāna
Mangar	44. Himālayan tribe	Nēpāl
Maṇihār	28. Bead-pedlars	Upper India
Māppila	3. Traders	Malabar
Marāṭhā	6(a). Landed-dominant	Dekkan etc.
Maṛavan	6(a). Landed-dominant	Tamil
Mārayān	12. Barbers etc.	Malabar
Mayarā	26. Confectioners	Bengal
Mazbī	20. Scavengers	Panjāb
Mēc	43(a). Hill tribe	Assam
Mēdar = Burūḍ		
Mēgh	18. Leather-workers	Panjāb Hills
Meithēi	43(f). Hill tribe	Maṇipur
Mēmān	3. Traders	West
Mēō	6(b). Peasants	Rājputāna and Panjāb
Mihtar = Bhangī		
Mikir	43(d). Hill tribe	Assam
Mimār = Rāj		
Mīnā	19. Watchmen	Rājputāna
Mirāsī-Dūm	21. Genealogists	Panjāb
Miri	43(b). Hill tribe	Assam
Mōci	18. Leather-workers	Univ. except in South
Mogēr	14. Fishermen	Kanara
Mōhānō	14. Fishermen	Sindh
Mrūng = Tipparah		
Mughal	45. Muslim race	Upper and West. India
Mukkuvan	14. Fishermen	Malabar
Muṇḍā	42(a). Hill tribe	Bengal etc.
Murāo	6(c). Market-gardeners	Upper India
Mūrmi	44. Himālayan tribe	Nēpāl
Musāhār	17. Field-labourers	Upper India and Bihār
Mutrāca	19. Watchmen	Telingāna
Nāgā unsp <sup>d</sup> .	43(c). Hill tribes	Assam
Nagarcī	38. Drummers	Upper India
Nāi-Nhāvī	12. Barbers	Univ. except in South
Nāikaḍā	42(b). Hill tribe	West
Nāmasūdra	6(b). Peasants	Bengal
Naṭ	39. Acrobats	Upper India
Nattamān	6(b). Peasants	Tamil
Nāyak	42(b). Hill tribe	West
Nāyar	6(a). Landed-dominant	Malabar

Caste	Group	Locality
Nevār	44. Himālayan tribe	Nēpāl
Neyige unsp <sup>d</sup> .	9. Weavers	Karnatic
Nhāvi = Nāi		
Nihāl	42(b). Hill tribe.	West
Nilāri	29(b). Indigo-dyers .	Upper India
Niyāriyā-Dhuldhōyā	8(b). Gold-dust-washers	Upper and West, India
Nora	43(g). Hill tribe	E. Assam
Nūniyā = Lūniyā		
Ōl-Vaḍḍar	33. Earth-workers	Univ. except in East
Orāon-Kūrukh	42(a). Hill tribe	Bengal
Osvāl	3. Traders	West
Paik	16. Toddy-drawers	Kanara
Paḷḷan	17. Field-labourers	Tamil
Palle	14. Fishermen	Telingāna
Paḷḷi	17. Field-labourers	Tamil
Pānan	22. Exorcists	Malabar
Pañcāḷa	8(a). Artisans	Karnatic
Pañcamasāle	6(b). Peasants	Karnatic
Paṇḍāram	23(a). Priests	Tamil
Pānisavan	5. Devotees	Tamil
Pānkā-Pān	9. Weavers	Cent. Prov.
Paṛaiyan	17. Village servants	Tamil
Pārdhī	41. Fowlers etc.	Dekkan
Parit = Dhōbi		
Parivāram	30. Domestic servants	Tamil
Pāsi	16. Toddy-drawers	Upper India and Bihār
Patēliā	42(b). Hill tribe	West Belt
Pathān	45. Muslim race	N. W. Frontier
Pathāri	42(a). Hill-tribal-priests	Cent. Prov. etc.
Pātharvaṭ	15. Stone-workers	Dekkan
Pātnī	14. Fishers etc.	Bengal
Pātrā-Patōr	28. Pedlars	Orissa
Paṭṭunūr-kāran	9. Silk-weavers	Tamil
Paṭve	9. Silk-weavers	Upper and Central India
Peṇḍhāri	31. Carriers	Dekkan and Karnatic
Perike	9. Hemp-weavers	Tamil
Phakiāl	43(g). Hill tribe	E. Assam
Phulāri-Hūgār	23(b). Temple servants	Dekkan etc.
Pinjāri	29(c). Cotton-scutchers	West
Pōd	6(b). Peasants	Bengal
Porojā	42(a). Hill tribe	N. E. Madras
Porvāl	3. Traders	Rājputāna etc.
Prabhu	4. Writers	West



Caste	Group	Locality
Pradhān	42 (a). Hill tribe	Cent. Prov.
Pujārī	23 (a). Hill-tribal-priests	Panjāb Hills
Pulayan-Cēruman	17. Field-labourers	Malabar
Qasāb	27. Butchers	Upper India
Qurēṣī = Śekh		
Rabārī	7. Camel-breeders	Rājputāna etc.
Rābhā	43 (a). Hill tribe	Assam
Rāj-Mimār	8 (c). Masons etc.	Upper India
Rājbaṅsī-Kōc	6 (a). Landed-dominant	Assam and Bengal
Rāj-Bhāt	21. Bards and genealogists	Bengal
Rājput-Kṣatriya	2. Landed-dominant	Upper and West. India
Rajvār	17. Field-labourers	Bengal
Rāmāiyā	28. Pedlars	Panjāb
Rāmōs'ī	19. Watchmen	Dekkan
Rangrēj	29 (b). Dyers	Univ. except in South
Rāthī	6 (b). Peasants	Panjāb Hills
Rāut	6 (b). Peasants	Panjāb Hills
Rāzu	6 (a). Landed-dominant	Telingāna
Reḍḍi = Kāpu		
Rēhgār	15. Salt-workers	Rājputāna
Rengma	43 (e). Hill tribe	E. Assam
Rong = Lepca		
Sadgōp	6 (b). Peasants	Bengal
Sādhu unsp <sup>d</sup> .	5. Devotees	West
Śāgirdpēṣā	30. Domestic servants	Orissa
S'āhā = Suñrī		
Sahariyā	41. Fowlers etc.	Cent. India
Saiñi	6 (c). Market-gardeners	Panjāb
Sainteng	43 (c). Hill tribe	Assam
Saiyad	45. Muslim race	Universal
S'akkiliyan	18. Leather-workers	Tamil
Sāle	9. Weavers	Dekkan and South
Sammō	6 (a). Landed-dominant	Sindh
Samru	6 (a). Landed-dominant	Sindh
Sān	43 (g). Hill race	E. Assam
S'āṇān	16. Toddy-drawers	Tamil
S'aṅkhārī	28. Armlet-makers	Bengal
Saṅsiyā	40. Thieves	Panjāb
Santāl	42 (a). Hill tribe	Bengal
Sātāni	23 (b). Temple servants	Telingāna
Savara	42 (a). Hill tribe	S. Orissa
Segidi	16. Toddy-drawers	Orissa

Caste	Group	Locality
Şekh-Qureşî	45. Muslim race	Bengal
Sema-Sima	43 (e). Hill tribe	E. Assam
S'embajavan	14. Fishermen	Tamil
Sēnaikkūḍaiyān	6 (c). Bitel-vine-growers	Tamil
Sēvak	23. Priests to Jains	Rājputāna
S'ikligar	34. Knife-grinders	Upper and West. India
Sima = Sema		
S'impī	29 (a). Tailors	Dekkan
Singphō	43 (h). Hill tribe	Assam
Sōnār	8 (b). Goldsmiths	Univ. except in South
S'rīmālī	3. Traders	West
Subarṇabaṇik	3. Traders	Bengal
S'udra	30. Domestic servants	Bengal
Sūmrō	6 (a). Landed-dominant	Sindh
Suñrī-S'āhā	29 (d). Distillers	Bengal
Sūnuvār	44. Himālayan tribe	Nēpāl
Sutār	8 (c). Carpenters	Univ. except in South
Taḍvī	42 (b). Hill tribe	West
Tāgā	6 (a). Landed-dominant	Agra
Tākārī-Tākankar	34. Grindstone-makers	Dekkan
Talāviā = Dūblā		
Tambaḷa	23 (a). Priests	Telingāna
Tāmbaṭ	8 (f). Copper-smiths	West
Tāmbōli	25. Bitel-sellers	Univ. except in South
Tañḍān	16. Toddy-drawers	Malabar
Tānti	9. Weavers	Bengal
Tantvā	9. Weavers	Bihār
Tarkhāṇ	8 (c). Carpenters	Panjāb
Telaga	6 (b). Peasants	Telingāna
Tēlī-Ghāncī	10. Oil-pressers	Univ. except in South
Tengima = Angāmi		
Thākar	6 (b). Peasants	Panjāb Hills
Thaṭhērā	8 (f). Brass-workers	Upper India
Thāvi	8 (c). Masons	Panjāb Hills
Thōrī	31. Carriers	Panjāb Hills
Tigaḷa	6 (c). Market-gardeners	S. Dekkan
Tipparah-Mrūṅg	43 (a). Hill tribe	E. Bengal
Tīyan	16. Toddy-drawers etc.	Malabar
Tiyar	14. Fisher and boatmen	Bengal
Toda	42 (d). Hill tribe	Nilgiri
Togaṭa	9. Weavers	Karnatic
Toṭṭiyan	6 (b). Peasants	Karnatic
Turāhā	38. Drummers etc.	Bengal
Tūrī	35. Bamboo-workers	Bengal

Caste	Group	Locality
Turk unsp <sup>d</sup> .	45. Muslim race	Panjāb West
Tūrung	43 (g). Hill tribe	E. Assam
Ulama	23 (a). Priests	Panjāb
Uppāra	15. Salt-workers	Karnatic
Uppiliyan	15. Salt-workers	Malabar
Vaḍḍar = Ōḍ		
Vaḍuga	3. Traders	Telingāna
Vāghri	41. Fowlers	West
Vaidya	4. Writers	Bengal
Vakkaliga	6 (a). Peasants	Karnatic
Valaiyan	41. Hunters	Tamil
Valluvan	23 (a). Low priests	Tamil
Vāṇiyan	10. Oil-pressers	Tamil
Vaṇṇān	13. Washermen	Tamil
Vārli	42 (c). Hill tribe	Sahyādri
Vēḍan	41. Hunters	Tamil
Velama	6 (a). Landed-dominant	Telingāna
Vēlan	22. Exorcists	Malabar
Vellālan	6 (b). Peasants	Tamil
Veluttēḍan	13. Washermen	Malabar
Vēttuvan	41. Hunters	Tamil
Vidhūr	4. Writers	Dekkan and Cent. Prov.
Vōhōrā = Bōhrā		
Yākha	44. Himālayan tribe	Nēpāl
Yānādi	42 (d). Hill tribe	Telingāna
Yāta	16. Toddy-drawers	Orissa
Yerukala	36. Mat-makers	Telingāna

## APPENDIX

Showing (A) the number returning each principal Language of the population

Language and Family	A		N. West		
	India		Kashmir	Panjab <sup>(1)</sup> 2)	Sindh <sup>(1)</sup>
	Total number returning the language	No. per 10,000 of population			
<b>I. Kol-Khervāri</b> . . . . .	<b>3,179,300</b>	<b>112</b>	— <sup>3)</sup>	—	—
Kol . . . . .	948,700	33	—	—	—
Santālī . . . . .	1,790,500	63	—	—	—
Savara . . . . .	157,100	6	—	—	—
Khariā . . . . .	102,000	4	—	—	—
Kōrkū . . . . .	87,700	3	—	—	—
Gadabā . . . . .	37,200	1	—	—	—
Kōrā . . . . .	23,900	1	—	—	—
<i>Others</i> . . . . .	32,200	1	—	—	—
<b>II. Dravidian</b> . . . . .	<b>56,315,700</b>	<b>1,991</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>140</b>
Gōṇḍ . . . . .	1,125,500	40	—	—	—
Orāon . . . . .	592,300	21	—	—	—
Kand . . . . .	494,100	17	—	—	—
Malto . . . . .	60,800	2	—	—	—
Telugu . . . . .	20,600,000	728	—	—	0
Kanarese . . . . .	10,364,700	366	—	0	—
Koḍagu . . . . .	39,200	1	—	—	—
Tulu . . . . .	535,200	19	—	—	—
Tamil . . . . .	16,425,000	581	1	0	0
Malayālam . . . . .	6,028,900	213	—	—	—
Brahui . . . . .	47,900	2	—	0	149
<i>Others</i> . . . . .	2,100	1	0	—	—
<b>III. Gipsy tongues</b> . . . . .	<b>344,100</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>4</b>	—
<b>IV. Indo-Aryan</b> . . . . .	<b>219,352,100</b>	<b>7,756</b>	<b>9,380</b>	<b>9,494</b>	<b>9,480</b>
Śina etc. . . . .	54,200	2	193	0	—
Kāsmīrī . . . . .	1,007,900	36	3,550	3	—
Lahndā . . . . .	3,337,900	118	0	1,244	0
Sindhi . . . . .	3,002,800	106	0	10	8,81
West Pahārī . . . . .	1,710,000	60	552	579	—
Central Pahārī . . . . .	1,270,900	45	—	0	—
East Pahārī . . . . .	138,300	5	3	4	—
West Hindī . . . . .	40,568,900	1,434	6	1,559	77
Panjābī . . . . .	17,033,300	602	4,624	5,833	97
Rājasthānī . . . . .	10,917,100	386	452	245	475
Gujarātī . . . . .	9,921,700	351	0	0	281
East Hindī . . . . .	22,136,400	783	—	—	—

<sup>1)</sup> Including Native States connected with the Province.

<sup>2)</sup> Including the N.W. Frontier Province.



TABLE I.

age, and (B) the Linguistic distribution per 10,000  
each Province or State.

B											
N. Central		Central		East		West			South		
Provinces <sup>1)</sup>	Rajputana Agency	Cent. India Agency	Central Provinces <sup>1)</sup>	Bengal <sup>1)</sup>	Assam <sup>1)</sup>	Bihar	Bombay <sup>1)</sup>	Baroda	Haiderabad	Madras <sup>1)</sup>	Mysore
0	—	0	72	354	121	103	—	—	—	46	0
0	—	—	16	112	61	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	220	49	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	37	0
—	—	—	6	10	3	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	50	—	—	103	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	9	—
—	—	—	—	3	0	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	0	9	8	—	—	—	—	—	—
0	0	27	934	86	51	437	1,448	2	6,122	9,191	9,260
—	0	25	751	—	3	302	1	—	68	12	—
—	—	—	41	69	17	—	—	—	—	—	—
0	—	—	45	7	19	—	—	—	—	88	—
—	—	—	—	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	0	1	89	2	8	129	49	2	4,621	3,381	1,507
0	—	0	3	0	0	4	1,354	0	1,402	372	7,301
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0	0
—	—	—	—	—	0	—	0	—	0	118	37
0	0	1	5	0	4	2	4	0	31	3,805	409
—	—	—	—	0	—	0	0	—	0	1,415	6
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0	0
0	2	10	21	0	0	250	13	1	109	8	69
989	9,996	9,956	8,962	9,494	7,688	9,295	8,510	9,554	3,747	743	645
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
0	0	—	—	0	0	—	0	0	0	0	—
0	0	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
0	40	1	0	0	0	—	90	1	0	0	0
0	—	—	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
11	0	—	0	—	—	0	—	—	0	0	—
5	0	0	—	10	32	—	0	—	—	0	—
527	2,825	5,479	1,629	171	29	991	495	354	1,069	212	485
3	23	4	1	0	5	2	1	0	2	0	0
2	6,743	2,171	430	1	12	152	46	10	54	0	2
1	360	326	17	1	2	76	3,228	9,431	18	23	6
125	—	1,623	3,653	146	545	15	1	0	0	0	—

Blank means that the language was not returned; a cipher that it was returned by less than one in 10,000 of the population.

Language and Family	A		N. West		
	India		Kashmir	Panjab	Sindh
	Total number returning the language	No. per 10,000 of popu- lation			
Bihārī . . . . .	34,579,800	1,223	0	16	—
Bengālī . . . . .	44,413,600	1,570	0	1	—
Assamese . . . . .	1,350,800	48	—	0	—
Oriyā . . . . .	9,674,200	342	—	0	—
Marāthī . . . . .	18,233,200	645	0	0	3
<i>Others</i> . . . . .	800	0	—	—	—
V. Irānian . . . . .	1,388,200	49	9	463	34
Pastū . . . . .	1,218,500	43	7	446	3
Balūcī . . . . .	150,600	5	0	15	32
Persian . . . . .	18,900	1	2	2	0
<i>Others</i> . . . . .	200	0	—	—	—
VI. Tibeto-Burman . . . . .	1,804,800	64	597	22	—
Bhōtia . . . . .	244,900	8	597	15	—
Kanāvarī . . . . .	19,500	1	0	7	—
Kirāntī . . . . .	45,400	2	—	—	—
Mürmi . . . . .	32,200	1	—	—	—
<i>Other</i> Himālayan . . . . .	83,800	3	—	—	—
Miri-Ābor . . . . .	40,800	1	—	—	—
<i>Other</i> East-Himālayan . . . . .	900	0	—	—	—
Bōdo . . . . .	239,500	8	—	—	—
Gāro . . . . .	185,500	7	—	—	—
Tipparah . . . . .	112,000	4	—	—	—
<i>Other</i> Assam . . . . .	59,000	2	—	—	—
Mikir . . . . .	83,600	3	—	—	—
Nāgā languages . . . . .	164,160	6	—	—	—
Meithei . . . . .	269,300	9	—	—	—
Luṣcī . . . . .	72,200	3	—	—	—
Kuki . . . . .	53,900	2	—	—	—
<i>Others</i> . . . . .	20,000	1	—	—	—
Kacin . . . . .	1,800	0	—	—	—
Burmese . . . . .	65,400	3	—	0	—
Mrū . . . . .	10,500	0	—	—	—
VII. Tai . . . . .	3,400	0	—	—	—
VIII. Mon (Khāsī) . . . . .	177,800	6	—	—	—
IX. Mongolian . . . . .	3,600	0	0	0	0
X. Malay . . . . .	26	0	—	—	—
XI. Semitic (Arabic). . . . .	19,700	1	0	0	0
XII. Hamitic . . . . .	180	0	—	—	0
XIII. European . . . . .	243,100	9	1	12	13
English . . . . .	227,900	8	1	12	13
<i>Others</i> . . . . .	15,200	1	0	0	0
<i>Unspecified</i> . . . . .	—	—	—	—	—
Total population returning language . . . . .	282,832,000	—	3	5	7

Excludes 1,14,100,000 per 10,000 in the Province or state.

B											
Central		Central		East		West			South		
Provinces	Rājputāna Agency	Cent. India Agency	Central Provinces	Bengal	Assam	Berar	Bombay	Baroda	Haidarabad	Madras	Mysore
09	3	222	0	3,095	1	0	0	0	0	—	—
5	0	0	1	5,279	4,812	0	0	0	0	0	0
0	—	—	—	0	2,203	—	0	—	—	—	—
0	—	0	1,355	790	38	—	0	—	2	433	1
1	2	130	1,876	0	9	7,969	4,649	198	2,602	75	151
—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	0	0
0	1	1	0	0	3	2	5	0	1	0	4
0	1	1	0	0	2	2	0	0	1	0	0
0	0	0	—	0	1	0	3	0	—	0	—
0	0	0	0	0	0	—	2	0	0	0	4
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
2	—	—	—	59	1,835	—	—	—	—	—	—
2	—	—	—	3	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
0	—	—	—	5	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	4	0	—	—	—	—	—	—
0	—	—	—	10	9	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	66	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	2	388	—	—	—	—	—	—
0	—	—	—	5	217	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	13	17	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	3	96	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	134	—	—	—	—	—	—
0	—	—	—	2	268	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	417	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	117	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	2	76	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	1	22	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—
0	—	—	0	8	1	0	0	—	0	0	0
—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	0	—	5	—	—	—	—	0	—
—	—	—	—	—	289	—	—	—	—	—	—
0	0	—	0	0	0	0	0	—	0	0	0
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	9	0	0
—	—	—	0	0	0	—	0	—	—	—	—
7	1	5	6	6	3	2	20	1	7	10	18
7	1	5	6	6	3	2	15	1	7	9	18
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	1	0
2	—	1	5	1	5	1	2	2	4	2	4

## APPENDIX, TABLE II.

Religions per 10,000 of population of each division.

Political Division		Tribal Animist	Brāhmanic					Parsi	Muslim	Jew	Christian	Others
			Hindu	Brāhmo	Sikh	Jain	Buddhist					
N. West {	Kashmir . .	—	2,372	—	89	1	121	—	7,416	—	1	—
	Panjab* . .	—	3,898	—	792	19	3	—	5,261	—	27	—
	Sindh* . .	—	2,309	—	—	3	—	6	7,652	1	23	6
Central {	Rajputāna .	371	8,320	1	2	352	—	—	951	—	3	—
	Unit. Prov.*	—	8,532	14	3	17	—	1	1,412	—	22	—
	Central India	1,150	8,094	—	2	131	—	—	613	—	9	1
	Centr. Prov.*	1,469	8,208	—	1	41	—	1	259	—	21	—
West {	Bombay*. .	43	8,689	—	—	243	—	35	889	5	96	—
	Baroda . .	903	7,922	—	—	248	—	43	845	—	39	—
	Berar . . .	472	8,671	—	5	71	—	2	770	—	9	—
	Haidarābād .	59	8,860	—	4	18	—	1	1037	—	21	—
East {	Bengal*. .	354	6,330	—	—	1	30	—	3,248	—	36	1
	Assam*. .	1,744	5,597	1	1	3	—	14	2,581	—	59	—
South {	Madras*. .	166	8,916	—	—	7	—	—	642	—	269	—
	Mysore . .	156	9,205	—	—	25	—	—	523	—	91	—
India . .		289	7,305	4	77	47	10	3	2,167	—	98	—

\* Including Native States.

## APPENDIX, TABLE III.

Showing the numerical strength of the principal Forest Tribes, and the relative prevalence of the Tribal language and religion.

Tribe	Total population	Percentage returning Tribal language	Percentage returning Tribal Religion		
			Total	Provincial	
<b>A. Central Belt</b>					
	9,178,515*	—	58		
Kōl-Khervārī	Santāl . . .	1,907,871	94	67	Bengal 70; Assam (labourers) 7
	Munḍā . . .	466,668	62	65	Bengal 78; Assam (labourers) 7
	Hō . . .	385,125		87	Bengal
	Kōl . . .	298,997		56	Cent. Prov. 22; C. Ind. 100; Elsewhere 0
	Kōrkū . . .	151,755	48	45	Berar 94; Cent. Prov. 13
	Savara . . .	367,367	43	45	Madras 87; Cent. Prov. 5; Bengal 0
	Kharvār. . .	139,625	—	1	Bengal 1; Cent. Prov. 10
	Khariā . . .	120,725	92	55	Bengal 69; Cent. Prov. 47
	Khairā . . .	109,571	—	13	Bengal 6; Cent. Prov. 47
Bhinjiā . . .	84,990	—	31	Bengal 0; Cent. Prov. 33	
Dravidian	Gōṇḍ. . .	2,286,913	45	72	Berar 92; C. Prov. 77; Beng. 27; Madras 3
	Gōṇḥī . . .	264,605	—	68	Cent. Ind. 100; Un. Prov. 0; Bengal 0
	Kōyī . . .	115,216	—	10	Madras 17; Haidarābād 1
	Porojā . . .	91,886	—	29	Madras
	Pān . . .	684,746	—	4	Bengal 6; Cent. Prov. and Madras 1
	Orāon . . .	614,501	96	71	Bengal 73; Assam (labourer) 8
	Kand . . .	701,198	70	68	Madras 82; Cent. Prov. 57; Bengal 38
Others . . .	356,846	—	48		
<b>B. Western Belt</b>					
	2,175,514	—	45		
Kōl	Bhil . . .	1,198,843	64	55	Cent. Ind. 100; Baroda 100; Rājput. 97; Bombay 14; Berar 57
	Bhilālā . . .	144,423	—	91	Cent. Ind. 100
	Kotvāl . . .	53,342	—	58	Cent. Ind. 100
	Taḍvi . . .	10,566	—	80	Bombay (rest Muslim)
	Dhōḍiā . . .	110,242	—	17	Baroda 100; Bombay 3
	Dūblā . . .	129,267	—	24	Baroda 100; Bombay 3
	Nāikaḍā. . .	115,600	—	10	Cent. Ind. 100; Bombay 8
	Vārli . . .	152,309	—	—	Bombay
	Kāṭkarī . . .	93,032	—	2	Bombay
	Others . . .	165,881	—	43	

\* Not including Christian Converts.



Tribe	Total population	Percentage returning Tribal language	Percentage returning Tribal Religion	
			Total	Provincial
<b>C. Nilgiri . . .</b>	<b>302,392</b>	—	<b>9</b>	
Īrula . . .	86,087	2	—	
Kuruman . . .	179,928	5	13	
Toda . . .	807	99	99	
Kōta . . .	1271	—	45	
Badaga . . .	34,299	98	—	
<b>D. North-East</b>	<b>1,419,222</b>	—	<b>76</b>	
Kacārī . . .	242,904	76	71	Assam 71; Bengal 79
Mēc . . .	99,534		78	Assam 100; Bengal 15
Tipparah . . .	111,279	101*	4	Assam 49; Bengal 0
Gāro . . .	166,237	112*	95	Assam 99; Bengal 82
Rābhā . . .	67,285	30	89	Assam
Lālūng . . .	25,513	46	100	Assam
Nāgā . . .	162,797	—	99	Assam
Mikir . . .	87,335	96	99	Assam
Kuki . . .	67,212	—	86	Assam 100; Bengal 0
Luṣēi . . .	63,588	113*	100	Assam
Miri . . .	46,720	87	49	Assam
Cūtiyā . . .	85,829	3	0	Assam
Khāsī . . .	159,549	111*	99	Assam
<i>Others</i> . . .	<i>59,053</i>	—	<i>97</i>	Assam

\* The Tribal language is here returned by some no longer returning the Tribe.

## A LIST

of the more important works on Indian Ethnography

by DR. W. SIEGLING.

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(Vol. I: India; Part I: Report by H. H. Risley and E. A. Gait; Part II: Tables; Part III: Ethnographic appendices. 3 vols. fol. Calcutta 1903).

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## CORRECTIONS.

P. 6, line 4 for belongs read belong.      P. 6, line 17 for stand read stands. —  
 P. 13, line 31 for others read other      P. 25, line 36 for between read about. —  
 P. 27, line 5 for clouth read South. —      P. 30, line 16 for times' read time's. —  
 P. 30, line 42 for Chapter read review.

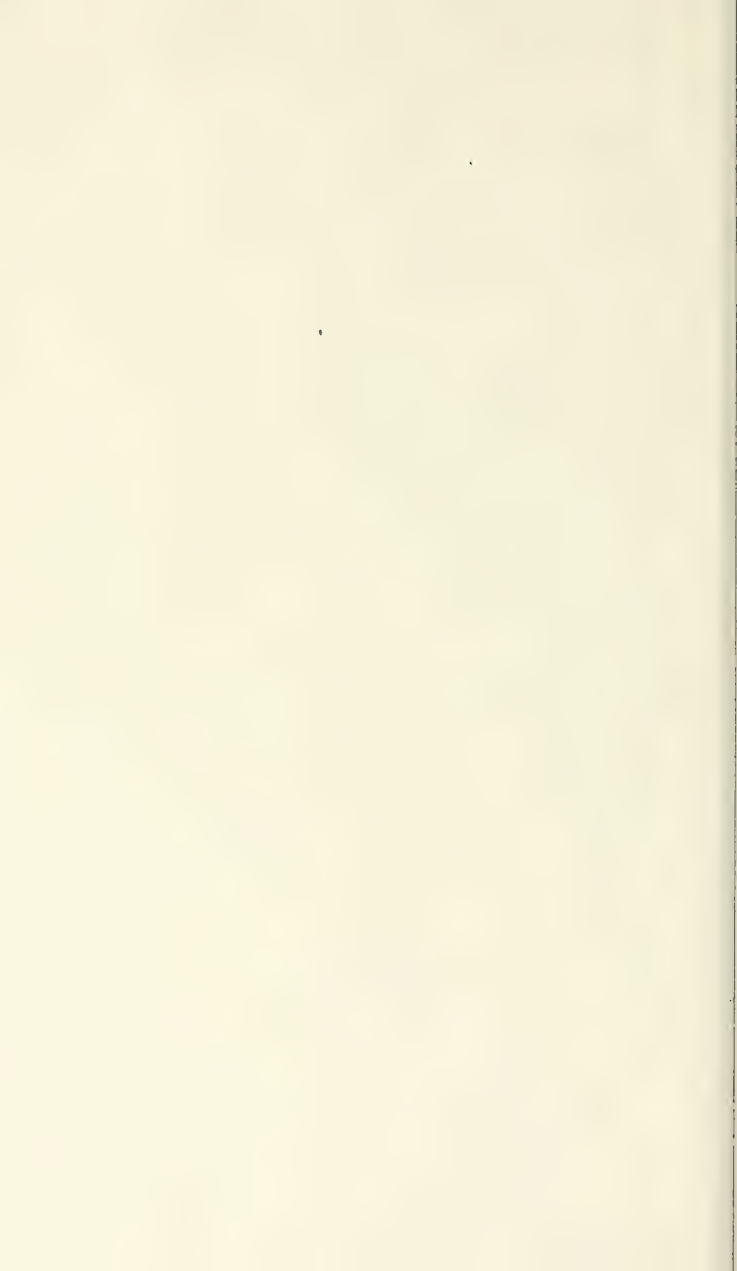
















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